TADHKIRAT AL-MULŪK

A MANUAL OF ṢAFAVID ADMINISTRATION

Translated and Explained by
V. Minorsky

THE EJW GIBB
MEMORIAL TRUST

TADHKIRAT AL-MULŪK

A MANUAL OF
ṢAFAVID ADMINISTRATION

(circa 1137/1725)

PERSIAN TEXT IN FACSIMILE (B.M. Or. 9496)

Translated and explained

BY

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ELIAS JOHN WILKINSON GIBB

and to promote those researches into the History, Literature, Philosophy and Religion of the Turks, Persians and Arabs, to which, from his Youth upwards, until his premature and deeply lamented Death in his forty-fifth year, on December 5, 1901, his life was devoted.

هذه هي أعمالنا، هذه الأعمال تظهرها نفوسنا؛
انظر إلى أعمالنا عندما توفينا.

"These are our works, these works our souls display;
Behold our works when we have passed away."

SECRETARY OF THE TRUST
Zuher Hassan
79 Fairview Crescent, Rayners Lane
Harrow, Middlesex, England

TO THE ORIENTALISTS
OF THE U.S.S.R.
IN THEIR ORDEAL

СОВЕТСКИМ ВОСТОКОВЕДАМ,
В ДНИ ВЕЛИКИХ ИСПЫТАНИЙ

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FOREWORD

In spite of the small size and dull official style of the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, this "Memorial for Kings" is of outstanding importance for the study of Safavid institutions. In general, it belongs to the interesting class of political manuals, which is poorly represented in Persian literature. The study of the Islamic period of the history of Iran,—which alone covers thirteen centuries,—is still in its infancy, not so much for want of useful outlines of single periods as because of the limited methods of research which were so long employed.[1] Studies of political events, chronology, literature, religion and art all have their importance, but the picture is likely to remain incomplete and to lack unity until there has been a more thorough examination of the ethnological factors, the economic background and the institutions, reflecting, as they do, the respective positions of the social groups.

In this respect, the "Memorial for Kings", completed about A.D. 1726, forms a welcome accession to our materials, for it deals with the more permanent and solid facts of state organisation, in contradistinction to our narrative sources which pay too much attention to the caleidoscopic succession of battles, appointments and intrigues.

My interest in the MS. was first aroused by Dr. E. Edward's article in *The Times* (17th November, 1924), giving details of the new acquisitions of the British Museum from the library of the late Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd.[2] In 1930 I copied a considerable part of it but later lost my notes. I copied it for a second time in 1934, and gave an outline of my study in a paper read at the XIXth International Congress of Orientalists held in Rome in 1935.[3] The difficulties of the task became apparent only later when I undertook a complete translation of the Persian original. They consist in the great abundance of technical terms and formulas scattered throughout the text for which the dictionaries are of no great help; their meaning can be ascertained only by internal evidence, by quotations in Persian texts of the Safavid epoch, or by explanations found in contemporary European sources. Very embarrassing too is the uncouth style of the author, which should be more properly called "official jargon" (see Annex V). In the plan of the treatise there are some inconsistencies and lacunae, and parallel passages are usually repeated with some variants and additions. The MS. is beautifully written, but the scribe did his work mechanically: he was negligent in his spelling and hardly concerned with the meaning of the original. In places the text is disturbed and the particularly

1 See my papers, *Les études historiques et géographiques sur la Perse*, in *Acta Orientalia*, X, 1932, 278–93, XVI, 1937, 49–58 (originally read at the International Congresses of Orientalists in Leiden, 1931, and in Rome, 1936).

2 In fact, the MS. (Or. 9496) bears only the endorsement: "bought of M. Nahman, 12th July, 1924."

3 See *Acta Orientalia*, XVI/I, 1937, pp. 55–8.

important tables of the Budget look at first sight like a puzzle.

In the present edition the MS. is reproduced photographically. In order to facilitate the checking of my interpretation of it I have given in the English text, not only references to the folios of the original[1], but also profuse quotations of single Persian words and expressions. My translation follows the arid original as closely as possible and intentionally avoids giving more precision than is contained in the author's loose original. Special terms are either accompanied by a transcription of the Persian equivalent, or left without translation. In the latter case their meaning is explained in the list of catchwords at the end of the book.

In the course of my work on the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* I took every opportunity to illustrate the passages by other contemporary sources. As the commentary was bound to follow the paragraphs as they come in the text, it has been thought useful to include in the Introduction some general notices on the more important problems of the Safavid administration. So finally, and for the time being, the book has taken the shape of a general guide to Safavid institutions.

Since 1937 I have published several studies on the problems of social and political organisation of Persia. My present book sums up and develops my views on the subject. In it I have not only wielded my professional weapons as an Orientalist, but I have also endeavoured to make full use of my other studies and of my personal experience.

I have followed the conventional system of "transliteration", although, on reflection, I regret having hesitated to adopt the novelty (*bidʿa*) of alterations which would have made it more conformable to spoken Persian. I hope my Iranian friends will not suspect me of ignorance in that *banda-yi shumā* is pronounced *bande-ye shomā* and that in Persia they say *sāhab* (for *ṣāḥib*) and *morāsele* (for *murāsala*). In the Turkish words abounding in our administrative text I have tried to restore as much as possible the original forms of Turkish as spoken in Iran (and not in Istanbul).

I am much obliged to the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial for having included this second contribution of mine in their great series.

Messrs. W. Heffer & Sons, and their staff, have all my praise for the careful production of the book in these difficult times.

I have much pleasure in offering my thanks to my friends, Mrs. N. K. Chadwick and Mr. A. J. Boyle, for checking my copy and to Professor C. A. Storey for reading the proofs of my book.

My wife typed my MS., with its endless additions and alterations, and prepared the Index. Without her help this book would never have been completed.

CAMBRIDGE, 12.X.1942.

1 On the system of references see p. 273

ABBREVIATIONS

Aḥsan al-tavārīkh—by Ḥasan-i Rumlū, ed. N. Seddon, 1931.

ʿĀlam-ārā—by Iskandar Munshī, Tehran, 1314. Cf. *Khuld-i Barīn*.

Bedik—Petrus Bedik, *Cehil-Sutun*, Vienna, 1678.

Browne, LHP—*A Literary History of Persia*.

Camb. Add. 220—Anonymous, History of Shāh Ismāʿīl [cf. B.M. Or. 3248], see also Ross.

Carmelites—*A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, London, 1939, 2 vols.

Chardin—*Voyages du Chevalier Chardin*, ed. Langlès, Paris, 1811, 10 vols.

De Laet—Ioannes de Laet, *Persia, seu regni Persici status variaque itinera in atque per Persiam*, Leyden, Officina Elzeviriana, 1633, 374 pp.

Don Juan—*Relaciones de Don Ivan de Persia dirigidas a la Magestad Catholica de Don Philippe III, Rey de las Españas*, Valladolid 1604. English translation by G. Le Strange, The Broadway travellers, 1926.

Du Mans—R. du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. by Ch. Scheffer, Paris, 1890.

Figueroa—Don Garcia de Silva Figueroa, *Commentarios de la Embajada que de parte del rey de España Don Felipe III hizo al Rey Xa Abas de Persia*, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1903; French translation by A. de Wicquefort, 1667.

Ḥabīb al-siyar—by Khwāndamīr, Tehran, 1281.

Herbert—Sir Thomas Herbert, *Some Yeares Travels*, 3rd ed., 1665. An abridged edition by Sir W. Foster in the Broadway Travellers, 1928.

Kaempfer—E. Kaempfer, *Amœnitatum Exoticarum Politico–Physico–Medicarum Fasciculi V*, Lemgoviae, 1712.

Khuld-i Barīn—by Muhammad Yūsuf Vālih, B.M. MS., Or. 4132, partly edited by Suhayli Khwānsāri (as an Appendix to the *Dhayl-i Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsi*), Tehran, 1317/1939.

Le Brun—C. Le Brun's *Travels*, English translation, 1759.

Minadoi—Gio. Tommaso Minadoi de Rovigo, *Historia della guerra fra Turchi et Persiam* (1588), 2nd ed., Venice, 1594.

Minorsky, Review—*A Civil and Military Review in Fārs in 881/1476*, *BSOS*, X/1, 1939, 141–78.

Minorsky, Soyūrghāl—*A soyūrghāl of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-qoyunlu*, *BSOS*, IX/4, pp. 927–60, 1939.

Muqaddimat al-adab—Mongolian-Turkish supplement (14th century?) to Zamakhshari's dictionary (12th cent.), ed. N. Poppe, Leningrad, 1938–9.

Naṣīr al-dīn Tūsī—his *Faṣl* on Finance, published by Minovi and Minorsky, *B.S.O.S.*, X/3, 755–89, 1941.

Or. 4935—B.M. MS., Collection of royal farmans, cf. Rieu, *Supplément*, pp. 255–6.

Ross—Sir E. D. Ross, *The Early Years of Shāh Ismā'īl* [after Camb. Add. 220], JRAS, April, 1896, 92 pp.

Ṣafvat al-ṣafā—by Tavakkul ibn Bazzāz, Bombay, 1329/1912.

Sanson—Sanson, *Voyage ou relation de l'Etat present du royaume de Perse,* Paris, 1695.

Silsilat—*Silsilat al-nasab-i Ṣafaviya*, ed. Iranshahr, Berlin, 1343.

Tarikh-i Amīnī—by Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān, Bib. Nat., ancien fonds pers. No. 101.

Thévenot—De Thévenot, *Suite du voyage de Levant*, seconde partie, Paris, 1674.

T.M.—*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, B.M. Or. 9496.

della Valle—Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, Brighton, 1843.

Vechietti—G. B. Vechietti, *A Report on the conditions of Persia in the year 1586* (in Italian), published by H. F. Brown in *English Historical Review*, 1892. pp. 314–21.

Z.T.—Muḥammad Muḥsin, *Zubdat al-tavārīkh*, Cambridge University Library, E. G. Browne collection, MS. G15 (13).

[For an additional list of bibliography, see Annex VI.]

INTRODUCTION

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I. SOURCES ON PERSIAN INSTITUTIONS

§1. Scarcity of Indigenous Sources

The exceptional place which the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* occupies among the sources of the Safavid period, and even of the general history of Persia, will become manifest in the light of the following considerations.

With regard to Egypt we possess several excellent manuals of administration: ʿUmarī's *Taʾrīf bil-muṣṭalah al-sharīf* (after A.D. 1340), Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* (the author died A.D. 1418), etc.[1]; for the Ottoman Empire a series of *Qānūnnāmas*[2] are available; the Mughal institutions in India were minutely recorded in Abul-Faḍl ʿAllāmī's *Āyīn-i Akbarī*, which forms the third part of his monumental *Akbar-nāma*.[3]

These works have no exact counterpart in purely Persian literature. Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma*, one of the most important books ever written in Persian, is a manual of politics and not a matter-of-fact description of the existing institutions

1 See R. Hartmann's remarks on these "Staatshandbücher" in his *Politische Geographie des Mamlūkenreichs*, in *ZDMG*, 70, 1916, pp. 1–40, 477–511.

2 See P. A. v. Tischendorf, *Das Lehnwesen in den Moslemischen Staaten*, Leipzig, 1872, p. 55 (based on ʿAyn-i ʿAlī's *Qavānīn-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, A.D. 1610) and Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, *Kānūnnāme Sulṭān Mehmeds II*, in *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, I/1, 1921, pp. 1–47, especially pp. 16–7.

3 A good survey of this principal work and of other subsidiary sources is found in Ibne Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, Oxford, 1936, pp. 7–26.

of Seljuk times. Naṣir al-dīn Tūsī's outline of taxation is very valuable, but has a limited scope and contains no statistics.[1] Rashīd al-dīn's *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* gives a wonderful picture of Ghazan-khan's reforms[2] but does not describe systematically the offices, revenues, salaries, etc. As compared with it, Hamdullāh Mustaufi's *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (A.D. 1340) has some particular merits in that it pays special attention to the geographical distribution of revenues and the economic situation of the country.[3] There is no need to insist on the importance of such collections of state papers as the *Tavassul ilā al-tarassul*,[4] and especially Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh's *Dastūr al-kātib*,[5] but these sources, purporting as they do to exhibit the most exquisite specimens of clerical style, are of course only casual and patchy. Consequently the only method of ascertaining the institutions of a period of Persian history is to set up a mosaic of stray references scattered through the contemporary sources. Barthold's *Turkestan* shows what can be achieved by this method, but such painstaking reconstruction depends on the opportunities presented by our sources. The latter are neither numerous nor supported by public records, which, as a result of the numerous invasions and of the constant shifting of capitals, have not survived in Persia. Hence the importance of an authentic treatise which contains a systematic and sufficiently complete description of the Persian administrative system.

§2. European Travellers

Hitherto our most detailed and trustworthy intelligence on the internal structure of the Safavid kingdom has been derived from European travellers and residents in Persia.

For the explanation of the *T.M.* we have chiefly to depend on the travellers of the later half of the seventeenth century, but three reports dating from the time of Shah ʿAbbas and Shah Ṣafi should not be overlooked in this connection.

The *Spanish Relaciones de Don Juan de Persia*, Valladolid, 1604,[6] were taken down from the dictation of the secretary of the Persian embassy Uruj beg b. Sulṭan ʿAlī beg Bayāt after he had been converted to Catholicism. The embassy left Persia on 9th July, 1599, apparently before Shah ʿAbbas had completed his reform of the army. Himself a *qizil-bash*, Uruj beg speaks with special pride of the

1 Minovi–Minorsky in *BSOS*, X/3, 1940, pp. 755–89

2 The third *qism* of the History of Ghazan, *GMS*, ed. Jahn, pp. 218.

3 See A. Z. Validi, *Moğollar devrinde Anadolunun iktisadî vaziyatî*, 1930, and recently I. P. Petrushevsky, *H. Qazvini kak istochnik po sotsialno-ekonomicheskoy istorii Vostochn. Zakavkazya*, in *Izv. Akad. Nauk S.S.S.R.*, 1937. No. 4, pp. 879–920 (with some misprints in Oriental words).

4 Compiled under the Khwārazm-shāhs towards A.D. 1182–4, printed in Tehran, 1315/1936.

5 Dedicated to Sulṭān Uvays Jalāyir (757–76/1356–74) and analysed in great detail by Hammer, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, 1840, pp. 463–516: Diplome mongolischer Staatsämter (759–60/1157–80). Hindū-shāh's work urgently needs an edition.

6 English translation by G. Le Strange, 1926 (with some alterations of Don Juan's spellings).

Turcoman praetorians, but the list of their tribes which he gives from memory is artificial and confused. The second part of the book dilutes Don Juan's narrative with data culled from European sources (Giovanni Botero).

The *Viaggi* of Pietro della Valle (1617–27) is one of the most valuable books on Persia whether as regards the accomplishments of the author, the scope of his enquiry, the great accuracy of facts or the excellency of transcriptions. Especially interesting are the chapters on the army, tribal relations and the changes brought about by the creation of a new aristocracy of Caucasian (Georgian) origin.

For the reign of Shah Ṣafi we have the very remarkable account of Olearius, who in 1636–8 accompanied a Holstinian embassy to Persia in the capacity of secretary. Olearius makes only a few remarks on the Shah's revenue. More detailed, but desultory, is his enumeration of the 19 higher and 22 lower officials.[1]

Of the later reports we shall refer only to those which give systematic accounts of the Safavid administration.

In his work presented to the Minister Colbert the Capuchin Father Raphaël du Mans[2] sums up the observations made during the first fourteen years of his sojourn in Isfahan. The author was one of the best Persian scholars of the time and was employed by the Shah as an interpreter in the more important negotiations. His book is remarkable as a first-hand account of the situation, covering as it does the whole range of Persian topics and using an exact terminology. Many travellers enjoyed Father Raphaël's hospitality and utilised his notes.[3]

The second report belongs to the French Protestant Chevalier Jean Chardin. This famous work based on the observations made during an eleven years' residence in Persia[4] occupies an exceptional place in the literature on Persia.

A shrewd observer, fully abreast of the accomplishments of his age, Chardin is remarkable for his sure political judgment, his insight into the intricacies of Persian practices, and, above all, his broadminded and sympathetic attitude towards his subject.[5] Style is not a strong point with the great Huguenot; some of his sen-

1 *The Commentarios de la embajada* (1618–9) of *Don Garcia Silva y Figueroa*, first published in 1603–5, contain nothing useful for our purpose. The Spanish nobleman is very accurate on the stages, ceremonies and negotiations, but he seems not to distinguish between the *qurchi* and the newly created *qullar*, see French translation by Wicqueford, 1667, p. 255. Sir Thomas Herbert's *Some Yeares Travels* (1627–9), first published in 1634, give a few scattered remarks on the army, revenue and currency, most of which he borrowed from the compilation of de Laet, *Persia seu regni Persici status*, Leyden, 1633. His style is amusingly bombastic and his spellings queer: *Allaugh Whoddaw* = *Allāh khodā*.

2 Born in 1613, died in Isfahān in 1696. Spent 51 years in Persia. *Estat de la Perse en 1660* was published by Schefer, Paris, 1890. The administrative system of Persia is described on pp. 14–42 and *passim*.

3 E.g., J. B. Tavernier, see Schefer, *o.c.* lxxi. Kaempfer, *Amœnitates*, Preface and pp. 28, 233, 237.

4 From 1664 to 1670 and from 1671 to 1677 (see his *Voyages*, i, p. xxv–xxvi, and vi, 86). The complete account was published only in 1711; the best edition in 10 vols is by Langlès, Paris, 1811, though some of the emendations of Oriental words by the editor are misleading, and the Index totally inadequate.

5 As compared, e.g., with. Du Mans's national and confessional prejudices.

tences lack the Gallic clarity and it is not easy to follow his topography of Isfahan.[1]

Chardin spent the later part of his life (1681–1713) in England, or in the service of the English; he died at Turnham Green and in the southern aisle of Westminster Abbey there is a tablet with the inscription: *Sir John Chardin—Nomen sibi fecit eundo*. It is a matter of regret, however, that no complete translation of his work, which inspired Gibbon and Montesquieu,[2] is available in English. The part of it going under the name of "Sir J. Chardin's Travels in Persia" comprises only the record of his peregrinations and not the general description of the country which occupies vols. IV–VIII of the Langlès edition. Of quite particular importance for our purpose is the "Description du Gouvernement politique, militaire et civil des Persans"[3] which deals with such important matters as the kingdom's military strength, the high offices, land-tenure, finance, justice, etc. Were it not for the question of space, one would incorporate whole pages of Chardin's work, but even the select passages quoted in our commentary and notes will greatly facilitate the study of our Persian text.

The third work directly interesting us is *Amœnitatum Exoticarum politico–physico–medicarum fasciculi V*, by the remarkable German scholar Engelbert Kaempfer, who in 1684 accompanied to Persia the Swedish ambassador L. Fabricius, and later acted as doctor to the Dutch squadron cruising in the Persian Gulf. Altogether, he spent four years in and near Persia.[4] Of this valuable and careful work, pages 60–143 deal with the internal organisation of Persia, high offices, troops, budget, etc. Kaempfer had picked up some colloquial Persian but his knowledge of the written language was inadequate even in 1686 when he was writing the part of his book referring to these subjects.[5] Among his informants he quotes the mihmandār appointed to attend on the Embassy. His diaries preserved in the British Museum show how eagerly he collected the data of earlier European travellers.[6] A memorandum which du Mans specially dedicated to Kaempfer is

1 The French academician Charpentier in his *Carpenteriana*, Paris, 1724, p. 371, boasts of having prepared Chardin's travels for the press. Langlès in *Biographie Universelle*, Paris, 1844, vii, rightly maintains Chardin's merit "d'avoir bien vu, bien observé et bien présenté ses observations," while leaving to Charpentier "le bien faible avantage d'avoir revêtu d'un style passablement lourd et souvent gothique les précieux matériaux recueillis par Chardin."

2 Gibbon, *The Rise and Fall, Chapter L*: "The jeweller, Chardin, had the eyes of a philosopher … Not indeed the most learned but the most judicious and inquisitive of our modern travellers." Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, 1749, quotes Chardin, I, 27, 209, 224, ii , 26, etc.

3 Vol. V, 205–500, Vol. VI, 1–165.

4 *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xv, 1882, 62–4: "Kämpfer war ohne Zweifel einer der gelehrtesten und geistigsten Männer seiner Zeit, der Humboldt des 17. Jahrhunderts." Born in 1651, Kaempfer arrived in Isfahan on 30th March, 1684, and appears to have left it for Gombrun in November, 1685, see his ms. notes, b.m., Sloane 2912, fol. 20a. He spent about two years in Gombrun and left for Batavia in 1688. He returned home in 1693, published his *Amœnitates* in 1712 and died in 1716. His native town Lemgo erected a monument in his memory. See Karl Meier-Lemgo, *E. Kaempfer, der erste deutsche Forschungsreisende*, Stuttgart, 1937 (a book for general readers; on K.'s travels in Persia, pp. 19–94).

5 *Amœnitates*, p. 67. The part on Persia was written in Gombrun; p. 77: dum in his describendis Gamroni occuparer.

6 See long passages from Dutch reports in ms., Sloane, 1912, fol. 70a: Joan Cunaeus (1651),

still preserved among the latter's correspondence,[1] and it is quite probable that Kaempfer profited also by the oral communications of his Capuchin friend. In 1684 the latter's knowledge of the country was far more advanced than in 1660 when he wrote his Estat de la Perse.

Less certain is Kaempfer's relation to Chardin, who brought out his book one year before the *Amœnitates*.[2] Both may in some instances have had recourse to the same sources and informants.

The fourth contemporary work bearing on our subject is the *Etat présent de la Perse* of Father P. Sanson, who went to Persia as Apostolic missionary in 1683, stayed 8 months in Qazvin, 6 months in "Lower Assyria," travelled in Khūzistān, stayed 8 months with the Bishop of Babylon and, after the latter's death, spent 3 years at Isfahan, where he acted as a kind of diplomatic representative. "En cette qualité j'avais les entrées au Palais, j'assistais à toutes les audiences que le Roy donnait, et j'avais ma place à ses festins." Sanson remained in Persia till some time after August, 1691, which date is found in his book, p. 130. Shah Sulaymān gave him a letter to be presented to the King of France, and at the latter's invitation Sanson wrote a record of his experiences. His little book (264 pages in 16 mo) was published in Paris in 1695. Schaefer in his Introduction to Du Mans, p. cvi, is certainly unjust to Sanson when he says that his book "ne donne aucun renseignement que l'on ne trouve dans Tavernier, Thévenot et … Bedros Bedik."[3] There is some common stock of data on Persian administration in all the European travellers, probably going back to some official "Almanac of Persia," but in the details Sanson speaks from personal experience and in general has a much better understanding of the system than, for example, Tavernier.

To these four authorities one would like to add the Dutchman C. Le Brun, who sojourned in Persia in 1703–4. He was allowed to draw a portrait of Shah Sulṭān-Ḥusayn (Fig. 85), but otherwise seems to have had little contact with the

fol. 120b: Hubert de Lairesse, on whom see Chardin, IV, 129, etc. Some of Kaempfer's transcriptions look as if they were misread from an European ms.; p. 80, *Tesjik agasi* (instead of *Eshik-aghasi*, cf. Chardin, V, 356), though p. 48; Isjik; p. 86, *Tsjahehisji* (instead of *chaliji*). Such mistakes would have been impossible in dictation or in copying from a Persian text. Kaempfer's transcriptions in Arabic characters are his own reconstructions out of his faulty Latin forms.

1 ms. Sloane 2908: 11 folios of very large size (memorandum + 4 smaller folios (Turkish grammar). F. iiv bears the colophon: In obsequium clarissimi viri et domini E. Kaempfer medici peritissimi nec non eiusdem fidelissimi amici D. D. pristaue (*sic*) in Hispan Persidis regia 22 sept., 1684, humillimus servulus R. du Mans, residentiae nostrae 38 anno. [Kaempfer, *o.c.* 221, says that among the staff of the Embassy there was Nobilis dominus Pristaffus, juris-consultus, legationis Mareschallus, mox redux in Russiam contra Turcos chiliarchae honorem meritus]. The colophon of the grammar is 20 Apr. (?), 1684.

2 In any case Kaempfer knew *Le couronnement de Soleíman*, see Meier-Lemgo, p. 185.

3 Tavernier is valuable as a traveller, but somewhat vague as an observer. De Thévenot writes in a pleasant style and is exact, but his stay in Persia (between 1664 and 1667, with considerable interruptions) did not last long enough. B. Bedik's *Cehil-sutun*, Vienna, 1678, in spite of its size (474 + 6 pp.), is very superficial and highly "Oriental Christian" in tone (cf. Art. x: de fabuloso et mendacissimo libro Coran). These three authors give very little information on Persian institutions.

Court.[1] Being a clever and observant man, Le Brun has some interesting details on the Shah, the officers of the crown, Persian money, etc.

The series of European sources on the Safavid period has been recently increased by the publication of *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, 1939. This extensive work (1376 pp. in 4°) is a most painstaking study of the archives of the Order during the period of 1585–1806. The anonymous author merits all our admiration for his achievement, but the documents themselves have only a limited scope. The events of the outer world penetrated into the specific atmosphere of the Mission[2] like the rays of the sun refracted by the surface of the waters. Interesting facts are scattered throughout the long narrative but from the point of view of our special interest the Carmelite records contain no systematic information similar to that contained in the books previously mentioned.

§3. The tadhkirat al-mulūk

(a) The Circumstance of its Compilation

A series of disasters on the eastern frontier of Persia marked the reign of the last Safavid Sulṭān-Ḥusayn. In 1118/1706 the Ghilzā'ī Afghans[3] of Qandahār killed the local governor-general Shāh-navāz khan. The latter's nephew, Khusrau-khan, met a similar fate in 1123/1711. The qurchi-bashi Muḥammad Zamān khan died in Mashhad during his expedition to the East. His successor Ja'far-qulī khan Ḥātimi was killed by the Abdālī Afghans of Herat, who also defeated the beglarbegi of Mashhad Manṣūr khan Shāhsevan. The new commander-in-chief, Fatḥ 'Ali khan Turkmān, after short-lived successes, lost his life at the hands of the Abdālīs, and the latter came to besiege Mashhad. Ṣafī-qulī khan Turkistān(?)-oghlī was now sent to Khorasan. He successfully repelled an Uzbek invasion in 1129/1719, but was finally defeated by the Abdālīs and fell in battle. Nothing came of the Shah's long stay in Qazvīn and Tehrān (1129–1133/1719–21): instead of leading an army to Khorasan, he dismissed his Prime Minister, Fatḥ-'Alī khan Daghestānī, and had him blinded and his property confiscated. Out of the proceeds a new expedition was equipped, under Ismā'īl khan Khānazād, an inefficient man who achieved no successs; during a mutiny he was attacked by the notables of Mashhad and deposed on 10 Muḥarram 1135/23 October, 1722.

The Shah returned to his capital on 29 Rabī' 1133/28 January, 1721, and, before the year was over, on 22 October came the news of the surrender of Kirman to the Ghilzā'ī Maḥmud. On 19 Jamādī I, 1134/6, March, 1722, a battle was lost by the Shah's courtiers in the neighbourhood of Isfahan. The seven months' siege began.

1 See p. 265 of his Travels, which we quote in the English translation of 1759.

2 Numerous pages are occupied by reports on "conversions" of dying Muslim children and squabbles with Armenian "schismatics."

3 On their probable origins from the Turkish Khalaj see my article in the *BSOS*, IX/1, 1940.

An appalling famine, graphically described by eye-witnesses,[1] reduced the inhabitants to the last extremity, and on the 11 Muḥarram, 1135/23 October, 1722, the mild and incapable Shah, accompanied by his court, rode out to the Afghan camp in Faraḥābād and placed his royal diadem (*jīgha*) on the head of his former vassal Maḥmūd. Thus suddenly was the whole fabric of the Safavid kingdom brought to an inglorious end.[2]

The Sunnī Ghilzā'īs, until then only provincial chieftains under the orders of a governor-general (*beglarbegī*), were entirely unprepared for their new responsibility. The great and ancient country, which they were called upon to rule, possessed a long administrative tradition, had professed the Shī'a creed for over two centuries, and was inhabited by many races of which one could have only a vague idea in Qandahār.

The new occupants of the Safavid throne had an urgent need to acquire some practical knowledge of the machinery whose levers they had so unexpectedly seized, and to this circumstance we owe the coming into being of the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, which is a manual of administration intended to edify a semi-barbarian usurper. Its anonymous author says that he prepared his work "by the supreme order."[3] The date is pretty clear from the statement on the monetary situation: the first Afghan usurper, "Shah Maḥmūd," assassinated in Sha'ban 1137/April-May, 1725, is spoken of as dead (f. 39a) and the book, "hurriedly compiled," was undoubtedly presented to his nephew and successor Ashraf (1137–42/1725–9). The richly decorated first pages and the excellent hand of the scribe give the impression that the MS. is the original copy of the Memorandum.

The central administration of Persia had been utterly shattered by siege, famine and privations, and the author mostly uses the past tense for his explanations of the working of the state machinery. He states that none of the qualified scribes in several departments were any longer available (ff. 29b, 40b, 68a, 69b); that some of the provinces had not submitted (f. 39a); by way of example, he refers to the prosperity of Safavid days (f. 39b). Naturally he speaks with great reserve of the former kings (f. 38a: "the former Shah"), but his feelings may be traced in such involuntary slips as f. 35a: *salāṭīn-i khilāfat-makīn*. One detail is indicative of his social relations, if not of his family connections: he is hostile to the powerful Majlisī family and shows his preference for Āqā Jamāl (f. 2b).

The author is fully versed in the arcana of Safavid chanceries. He uses official sources,[4] and now and then introduces what looks like his personal recollections or traditions heard, such as his remarks on the origin of the office of the Mullā-bāshī (f. 3a), the first appearance of white eunuchs (f. 31b), fluctuations in the

1 *Zubdat al-tavārīkh*. ff. 207b, 208b; Krusinski and Petros di Sargis Gilanentz, ed. Patkanov, 1870.

2 See *Z.T.* and Hanway's very complete account, 1753, III, 1-255,

3 Cf. also Conclusion, f. 107b, where the author uses the expression, "this slave makes a submission."

4 *Sar rishta-yi mukrdār-i sābiq* (f. 41a): *nuskha-yi rusūmāt* (f. 87b), *ṣāḥib-taujīh-i sābiq* (89a), *mushrif-i buyūtāt* (89a).

standard of coins (f. 38a), etc. The fact that on the last subjects he goes into considerable technical detail might suggest that he was associated with the financial department and, perhaps, especially with the Mint.

(b) The Contents of the T.M.

The works of Du Mans, Chardin, Kaempfer, Sanson and Le Brun give a good idea of the Persian administration in the seventeenth century. They are very helpful for the understanding of the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, as, *vice versa*, the latter enables us to test the accuracy of the European investigators. But the value of the Persian work by far exceeds its usefulness as a parallel to the European works mentioned above. Where the latter merely describe, the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* gives the *ipsissima verba* of Persian administrators. The short manual contains many items not otherwise known (cf. the paragraph on the Muʿayyir al-mamālik and the Mint, the system of fees, etc.), and, what is particularly interesting, gives numerous statistical appendices on the salaries, military forces kept in the provinces, revenue and expenditure. Such data were surely considered confidential, and it is noteworthy that the MS. is supposed to have come to light in the private library of the Ottoman Sultans. Some ambassador, or other able agent, may have secured the precious MS. for objects of more direct utility than the increase of theoretical knowledge on a neighbouring country.

The divisions of the book are not very carefully observed. In his brief Introduction the author says that his work consists of four chapters and a conclusion. Yet the chapters are five, and the conclusion, said to be in three parts, has in fact only two divisions, of which the latter has two subdivisions. The plan of the book is as follows:

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I. On the religious authorities, in 5 paragraphs.

CHAPTER II. A short notice on the "amirs of the marches," i.e. the governors of the great provinces (*mamālik*), is followed by a list of the 14 great amirs resident at the capital and styled *ʿālī-jāh*, most of them being members of the King's Council.

CHAPTER III enumerates the dignitaries having the rank of *muqarrab*. The latter are divided into two categories: the first (*muqarrab al-khāqān*) consists of eunuchs and 8 civil dignitaries: the second (*muqarrab al-ḥaḍrat*) has two subdivisions: (a) four officials belonging to the class of masters of ceremonies and door-keepers, and (b) 18 officials being heads of the various *buyūtāt* (Divisions and Workshops) of the Royal Household.

CHAPTER IV. On the staff of the financial administration. In the first division, the functions of the closest collaborators of the Nāẓir-i buyūtāt (Ch. II, §6) are defined, a trio consisting of the Vazīr, Mustaufī and Mushrif of the Royal Buyūtāt. The second division enumerates 18 similar wheels-within-wheels of the principal

government offices (that of the Grand Vazīr, those of the four corps composing the Army, etc.).

Chapter v explains the activities of the 14 officials (*ʿummāl*) specially associated with the affairs of the capital and its district.

Even this summary of contents shows that the anonymous author concentrates his attention on the central organs of government and that the organisation of the provinces is described very briefly in the introduction to Chapter I. To some extent this defect is remedied by the Annexes grouped under the conclusion, which is one of the most important parts of the book:

In its Part i the complicated system of remuneration of 80 higher officials is described; the latter's list is useful for checking and completing the data of the five chapters of the book.

Part ii is very important as giving a very detailed list of provincial governors, with the amount of their emoluments and the number of their armed attendants.

Part iii tabulates the Budget of the Safavid kingdom. It first specifies the Revenue and then the Expenditure. These tables, though somewhat involved, are of outstanding importance for the study of Persian economics.

II. PROLEGOMENA

A. Social and Economic Background of the Safavid State

Not until all the available sources have been properly scrutinised, and more material, similar to the *T.M.*, discovered, shall we be able to get to the bedrock of social and economic conditions under the Safavids. This task will have to be undertaken by the coming generation of scholars. Here we shall tentatively sum up the conclusions, or even mere impressions, suggested by the *T.M.* and its contemporary sources.

Logically one should begin with the basis of the social pyramid, but this is not the clearest part of the picture and so we shall start from the top.

(a) The Shah

It is not enough to say that the Safavid monarchy had sprung up as a theocracy. Such was, for instance, the origin of the Muslim community in Medina but, if Muḥammad was only an apostle delivering messages from God, Shah Ismāʿīl and his immediate ancestors considered themselves as hereditary and living emanations (*maẓhar*) of the godhead.[1] In this regard they can only be compared to the leaders of such extremist Shīʿa sects as the Ismāʿīlis, the Nuṣayris and the Druzes.

1 See Minorsky, *Khaṭāʾī* in *E.I.* and *The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl* in *BSOS*, x/4, 1942, pp. 1006–53. The *dīvān* of Shah Ismāʿīl gives incontrovertible proofs that he considered himself as God incarnate.

Between Mekka and Ardabil there is almost as much difference as between Calvin's Geneva and the Lhassa of the Dalai-lama. Towards A.D. 1500 the royal power was reborn in Persia with the full prestige of its magic origin. Even European contemporaries were aware of the supernatural prerogatives of the Shahs, although they did not fully realise the sources of these theories and beliefs. A Venetian contemporary of Shah Ismā'īl's rise states that "de ceulx de sa cour et de ses subjectz il est adoré (sic) comme prophète."[1] A Venetian merchant who was in Tabriz *circa* A.D. 1518, remarks: "This Sophy is loved and reverenced by his people as a God and especially by his soldiers, many of whom enter into battle without armour expecting their master Ishmael to watch over them in the fight." The Venetian envoy d'Alessandri (A.D. 1571) confirms that Shah Tahmāsp's subjects "worship him not as a king, but as a god, on account of his descent from the line of Ali."[2] Chardin, V, 233, explains the extreme submissiveness of the Persians to the Shah in everything by their belief that "c'est Dieu même qui le demande par sa bouche."[3] Speaking of the profits made by the Tushmal-bashi (Annex §100) in distributing the remains of the King's food, Chardin writes, V, 350: "C'est un effet de la créance qu'ont les Persans, que leurs rois ont des dons surnaturels; que ce qu'ils touchent est béni, et que leurs mains influent des vertus particulières comme celles de la guérison, par exemple, dans les choses bonnes à boire et à manger qu'ils touchent," etc.[4]

To become operative this religious conception of kingship required the credulity of the semi-nomad Turcoman tribes, which carried the Safavids to the throne.[5] But as the squabbles of this praetorian guard began to shake the foundations of the state, the further evolution of the royal power took place in the struggle against these very supporters of the first hour. Shah 'Abbās succeeded in crushing his tribal henchmen by opposing to them his new "slaves," recruited chiefly among Georgian and other Caucasian converts. Appeals to the feelings of *shāhī-sevanī*[6] so common under Shah Tahmāsp, are hardly ever heard of under the later Safavids. Taking advantage of his strengthened position, Shah 'Abbās re-

1 Dr. Rota's *La vita del Sophi*, Venice, 1508, French translation published by Schefer, in Du Mans, p. 264. M. Sanuto, IV, 191 (sub Dec. 1501): e lui (Ismā'īl) dice che mio padre non era mio padre, ma lui era mio schiavo; et lui dice esser instesso Dio.

2 Hakluyt Society, 1873, II, 206 and 223.

3 See *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 152, on the execution of the governor of Shiraz. Sanson, iii, 131 reports the story of the Divan-begi whom Shah Sulayman ordered to behead with his own hands his friend the Qurchi-bashi. The latter hearing the order "souhaitait une longue vie au Roy et ne forma aucune plainte de son mauvais sort." Sanson concludes, 136: "Les Perses sont tellement entêtéz de l'infallibilité de leur Prince qu'ils reçoivent ses arrêts comme des oracles venus du ciel."

4 Cf. Figueroa, 324, on a woman who recovered by eating of the jam which Shah 'Abbās sent to the Spanish Ambassador. In Persia these practices had an obvious meaning, deeper than their European parallels which were rather remote survivals of the ancient beliefs. Between the years 1660 and 1664 the English King Charles II touched with his hand 23,000 persons suffering from scrofula ("King's Evil"), Marc Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges*, Strasbourg, 1924, p. 377. See *ibid.*, 132, the official notice dated Paris, 1657: "on faict a sçavoir a tous qu'il appartiendra, que Dimanche prochain jour de Pasques, Sa Majesté touchera les Malades des Escrouelles."

5 See Annex II.

6 See Minorsky, *Shāh-sevan*, in *E.I.*

duced the power of most of the hereditary rulers of Gilan, Mazandaran, Luristan, etc. The religious aberrations, which were too closely connected with the time of tribal feudalism, are henceforth relegated to the limited circle of the Sufi guards. Sanson, who lived in Persia during the last years of Shah Sulayman's reign, makes the following curious statement, p. 41: "Les Sophis estaient autrefois en grande vénération, mais ils sont maintenant dans le dernier mépris. … Leurs Religieux ne servent plus que de Portiers, d'Huissiers, et d'Executeurs de Justice"; cf. *ibid*., 102. Under the last Safavid king the official creed was reduced to the simple form elaborated by the level-headed doctors of the Shīʿa rite.

With the creation of the new troops directly depending on the Shah the question of their upkeep comes to the fore. To preserve an independence secured after so many struggles, the Shahs strive to strengthen their private treasury. Although in principle the whole of the state lands belonged to them,[1] in practice the conflict between the Dīvān and the Khāṣṣa (v.i.) acquires a daily increasing importance. The Shahs wish to enrich themselves and so their Khāṣṣa sprawls over more and more provinces. The unruly feudalism of the tribes and local dynasties is replaced by centralisation. The idea of personal patrimony prevails over that of the community. The Shahs are now the largest capitalists; they amass goods in their Buyūtāt; they attract and court European merchants, they use their Armenian subjects as their trading agents for disposing of the chief exportable commodity, namely silk.

The details of the process are still obscure, but the difference between the beginning and the end of the Safavids strikes the eye. ʿAbbās I marks the turning point in the transformation of a tribal feudalism into a "patrimonial" absolutism. But while the old stimulus which held together the Safavid state in its earlier days had become entirely discredited, the new tendency, being too exclusive and egoistic, was incapable of rousing anybody's enthusiasm. And so, when the external crisis came, the state collapsed for lack of social cohesion.

(b) Ruling Classes

In a special excursus (Annex II) we shall trace the origins of the "unique party" brought into existence by the Safavid propaganda. At this place we shall consider only the further evolution of the dominant class as attested by some new facts.

Nobody seems to have paid attention to the extremely valuable lists of higher officials, under Shah Tahmāsp A.D. 1524–76,[2] in the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 104–24, under ʿAbbās I (A.D. 1587–1629), *ibid*., 761–7, and under Shah Ṣafī (A.D. 1629–42), in the *Khuld-i barīn*, ff. 1376–1586 (printed text, pp. 251–99).

Under SHAH TAHMĀSP the amirs are enumerated in their tribal groups. First come the Turcoman clans Shāmlū, Ustājlū, Turkmān, Rūmlū, Dhul-qadr (*Dulghadir), Afshār, Qājār, Takkalū and Khinislū[3]; to these nine clans must be

1 See Annex III.

2 On the beginning of the Safavid state see Annex II.

3 The latter, connected with Khinis (Khnus) in Armenia, must have been Turcomans. The

added the Chaghatay, evidently a Turko-Mongol group or family from Central Asia (employed chiefly in Khorasan). The Turks are followed by Iranian tribesmen and mountaineers: Tālish,[1] Kurds: Rūzakī,[2] Siyāh-Manṣur, Pāzūkī, Ardalān, Chigäni,[3] and Lurs: ʿAbbāsi (Fayli). After these amirs come two Shaykhāvand, i.e., descendants of a side branch of the Royal Safavid family. Last in the list stands an Arab family: Kamūna.[4]

In all, there were 114 amirs registered in the books of the Supreme Divan, and this was the tribal aristocracy from which commanders of troops, governors and high officials were recruited. Out of the total of 114, Iskandar-munshi quotes by name only seventy-two "notables (*muʿtabarān-va-buzurgān*) of each class (*ṭabaqa*) and each tribe (*oymāq*)." In this abridged list, the *qizil-bash* stand for 56 places, the Chaghatays for 3, the "Kurds" for 10, the Shaykhāvands for 2, and the Arabs for 1, which amounts to 59 dignitaries of Turkish origin as against 13 non-Turks. Ten of the latter also belonged to the tribal aristocracy.

Closely connected with the amirs were their officers and retainers, concerning whom the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 106, has the following passage: "at the time of Shah Tahmāsp's demise, there were six thousand exalted yūz-bashis, holders of offices, qurchis and other officers on the staff (*mulāzimān*) of the Court, namely, there were 4500 qurchis and 1500 other officials, such as qūrchiyān-i dash (?), yasāvuls, bukāvuls, etc. Among them there were distinguished yasāvuls and qūrchis, as well as Eshīk-āqāsīs, Yasāvul-bashis of *qūr* and *dīvān*, Mīr-shikārs and Tūpchī-bāshīs. In each category and lot there were many who deserved to be amirs, and though they were not honoured with the rank of amirships, yet in esteem they did not yield to the amirs. Each of them had efficient (*kār-āmadanī*) servants, from 5 to 50 in number. Consequently, there were 6000 of them on the staff of the Royal Household (*khāṣṣa*), but their attendants and servants, who were not properly registered, were approximately 20,000 or more. The fame of the qurchis' valour was such, that in any action in which there was a hundred of them they were equal to a thousand of other denominations."

An entirely different class of aristocracy were the Tājīks (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, 117: *ba-Tājīkiya bayn al-jamhūr mashhūr*), the old Persian families, hereditary reposi-

enumeration is of course only approximate. See Annex II.

1 The Tālish speak an Iranian dialect but may be a mongrel race. Among the present-day Shāh-sevān Turcomans of Mughan there is a clan called Tālish-Mikeyli.

2 The tribe of the khans of Bitlis, see *Sharaf-nāma*.

3 Towards the end of the Safavid rule the Mukri Kurds became prominent: Muḥammad-ʿAli khan accompanied Tahmasp II in his flight from Isfahan and later was appointed by him Vazir-i aʿẓam and commander of the ʿIrāq troops, *Z.T.*, f. 210b.

4 Said to be a family of sayyids and naqībs of Najaf. Sayyid Sulaymān Kamūna (Kammūna?) was governor of Hilla under Ismāʿil I. It is curious that in 683/1284 a Jewish scholar, ʿIzz al-daula b. Kammūna of Baghdad, wrote a book which brought him into conflict with the Muslims; he had to flee to Ḥilla, where his son was secretary, see W. J. Fischel, *Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Mediaeval Islam*, 1937, p. 134. Under the last Safavid, the *Z.T.*, f. 203a, mentions a Jaʿfar khan Ḥātimi, said to be a descendant of Ḥātim Ṭayy, and regarded as a royal prince (*nisbat-i shāh-zādagi dāsht*).

tories of learning, letters and clerical skill.[1] These filled the offices of the financial department, acted as lesser members of the administration, controllers, clerks, doctors, astrologers, artists and skilled artisans. Among them there was a sprinkling of fully assimilated Turcomans.

The numerous class of the clergy were closely allied to the "Tājīks." The Arabic blood of some of the sayyids and divines had no political implications and, as a whole, the clergy represented the Iranian tradition. The sudden change from the Sunna to the Shīʿa under Ismāʿīl came as a hard blow to many divines: several of them were persecuted and forced into exile.[2] Economically the clergy was closely associated either with the bureaucrats (especially in the judicial activities), or with the landed gentry (either in administering the vaqfs, or in the capacity of land-owners).

Concerning the private land-owners we know very little. Some of them lived in the capital and were admitted to the court. The *ʿĀlam-ārā* says, 122: "There was at the Court another category of noblemen belonging to the Tajik class; some of them tried to serve (*rāh-i khidmat dāshtand*) and, although they did not attain any important posts, they acted as advisers at the royal assemblies and made themselves conspicuous by participating (in discussions)." The author quotes the names of a sayyid of Qum who was an important land-owner (*ṣāḥib amlāk va raqabāt*), and of another gentleman of Kirman; both were spoken of as candidates to the post of Grand Vazir but never obtained it.[3]

On the whole the picture of the society under Tahmāsp is a direct continuation and development of the situation obtaining in Persia under Shah Ismāʿīl or even under his Turcoman predecessors.[4]

A very different situation was created by the far-reaching reforms of Shah ʿAbbās I. Chardin, V, 224–5, very appropriately says that, in order to unify the kingdom which was split up among various vassals, Shah ʿAbbās had to conquer it "as if it were a foreign land." He used this "right of conquest" to crush the old troops and the ancient families of the country, and, having done so, subdued the clergy and even his "people" by mixing the latter with other nations and creeds.[3]

He concludes, p. 290: "il n'y a point de noblesse en Perse, non plus que dans tout l'Orient, et l'on n'y porte de respect qu'aux charges, aux dignités, au mérite extraordinaire, et particulièrement aux richesses." With still more cruel methods, the work of levelling the aristocracy was continued by Shah Ṣafī, that Persian Ivan-the-Terrible.

1 With regard to them della Valle, 759, uses the Turkish term *tāt*, "a non-Turk," which in a Turkish mouth has a pejorative shade of meaning, see Minorsky, *Tāt* in *E.I.* He recognises, however, that the Tats represent the "ancient Persian race," which is nobler than the (Turcoman) Qizilbash, the latter being "a race of adventitious elements, who since a short time elevated themselves by force."

2 Muṣlıḥ al-dīn Lārī's *Mirʾāt al-advār*, Add. 7650, has some facts characterising the oppositional tendencies of the religious émigrés, fol. 231.

3 A study of provincial histories (Shirāz, Yazd, Kāshān, Qum, etc.), which contain long chapters on local families, will throw much light on the subject.

4 See Minorsky, *Review*, p. 175.

Let us see now how these changes are reflected in Iskandar-munshi's invaluable "Who's who." This time his list is characteristically divided into two parts:

A. The first enumerates the members "of the exalted Qizil-bash tribes and of the oymāqs which are under the Qizil-bash tribes." It consists of 5 sections: (*a*) The first place is occupied by ʿIsā khan Shaykhāv and, who sprang from a branch of the Safavid family and was related by marriage to the King.[1] (*b*) Then follows the list of the well-known Turcoman tribes: Shāmlū (clans: Begdilū, ʿAbdillū, ʿArabgīrlū, Nilqāz), Ustājlū (clans: Kangarlū and Sharaflū), Dhul-qadar (clans: Söklän (?), Shamsaddīnlū, Ḥājjilar, Qorughlū), Qājār (clan: Igirmi-dört), Afshār (clans: Imānlū, Alplū, Usāllu), Turkman (clans: Pornāk and Ordāklū), Ispirlū, Rūmlū (clan: Qoyla-Ḥiṣār), Qarā-dāghlū, Bayāt, Tālish,[2] Alpā'ūt, Qazāqlū, Jāgīrlu and Bāyburtlū. (*c*) The third section enumerates the Kurds and Lurs: ʿAbbāsi-Faylī, Ardalān, Bakhtiyâri, Chiganī, Dumbulī, Siyāh-Manṣur, *Zangana, Shaqāqī, Sūrla (?), Garrūs, *Kulyā'ī, Kala-gīr, Jastānī. (*d*) The fourth section, headed Chaghatāy, comprises oymāqs of eastern origin, such as Yaqqa-Turkman-i Sā'in-khānī,[3] etc. Single tribal names quoted under this heading are: Girāylī, M.ch.kī, Tükäli, Qara-bayāt, Jalāyir, Qumrī (?), *Jaun-ghurbān, Qarā-bāsh, Ghūrī and Jamshīdī.[4] (*e*) The fifth section consists of "various other tribes which do not belong to the Qizil-bash oymāqs": Muqaddam, Lak-i Salmāsī, Zunūzī, Sil-süpür (originally highwaymen from Asia Minor), Bāydār (in Georgia),[5] maliks of Sīstān (claiming to be of Ṣaffārid origin) and Afghāns (of Qandahār).

B. The second category consists of "the amīrs who are ghulāms of the Court," and it is explained that, in the reign of ʿAbbās I "a large number of this category obtained the grace of Islam and the happiness of serving at this court; most of them, from their childhood, had grown up under the shadow of his Majesty's favours, and having become acquainted with his worthy ways, had acquired the capacity of becoming amirs and occupying the posts of khans and sultans. Therefore, when some of the Qizil-bash amirs and of the governors of the State provinces (*mamālik*) passed away, while among their oymāqs there was nobody worthy to hold the high office of amīrship, one of the ghulāms of the Private Household (*khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*), distinguished among his colleagues by his justice, experience, valour and devotion to His Majesty, was appointed to be the amir of the said tribe and military force,[6] and the governor of that region (*ulkā* < Turk. *ölgä*). In the enumeration which follows, the first place is occupied by Imām-quli-khan,

1 On the Shaykhāvand and their oppositional tendencies, see *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 242, and the accurate P. della Valle, *Viaggi*, Brighton, 1843, II, 763 (on the libels spread about ʿAbbās I's birth by "i male afletti, e particolarmente i Sceichavendi di Ardebil, che poco bene gli vogliono").

2 V.s., p. 15 and Annex II.

3 Mahdi-khan in his *Tārikh-i Nādirī*, says that Sā'in-khānī Turcomans were subjects of Khwārazm, but lived near Astarābād. Cf. *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, III, part IV, 367.

4 The last two must be Iranian tribes.

5 The fief of the sultan of Bāydār extended between the rivers Kur, Khram and Algeti.

6 *Qoshūn-va-lashkar*: the term *qoshūn* may refer to the Turcoman cavalry and *lashkar* to the subsidiary local troops (infantry?).

who succeeded his famous father Allāh-verdi khan (an Armenian convert),[1] as beglarbegi of Fars and its dependencies, with the authority to appoint his subaltern governors. His son Ṣafī-quli succeeded the hereditary khan of Lār,[2] and his brother Dāvūd supplanted the Qājār chief in the important chieftainship of the Qājār tribe. Another Ṣafī-quli ("the Georgian") was governor-general of Baghdad and even mutavalli of the Shīʿa sanctuaries of ʿIrāq. Astarābād and Mashhad were governed respectively by Khusrau-khan and Manūchihr khan, the Georgians. Qazaq-khan, "Charkas," combined the office of governor-general of Shirvan with the chieftainship of the Qizil-bash tribes of Qaramānlū and *Khunūslū. Farrukh-khan ruled over Darband and the Qizil-bash tribes of Rūmlū and Bayāt. Other ghulāms had taken the place of the hereditary chiefs of Chapni, Chamishgazak, Afshār-i Iydälü, Pāzūkī, Javānshīr-i Otuz-iki, etc., and become governors of the latter's fiefs.

The *ʿĀlam-ārā* enables us to gauge with great precision the meaning of the innovations:

1. Out of the total of 89 amirs, 74 still belonged to the Qizil-bash tribes, only 15 being ghulāms[3]; consequently 20 per cent. of the high administration had passed to new elements owing their rise not to their origin but to personal merit and the confidence of the Shah.

2. The number of Qizil-bāsh tribes had considerably increased; some smaller clans and families received individual posts, the intention probably being to dilute the influence of the great tribes. Some regrouping of clans was taking place: the clans of ʿArabgīrlū and Nilqāz are said "to be included at present" in the great and faithful tribe of Shāmlu, "that top-line of the catalogue of the oymāqs." Only the Shāmlū and the Dhul-qadar each controlled seven administrative posts, while the majority were content with one or two governorships.

These important statistics reflect the situation at the death of ʿAbbās I (A.D. 1619), who so profoundly changed the foundations of the Safavid power.

Under his grandson SHAH ṢAFĪ the changes go still deeper. The following tendencies come to light in the data of the *Khuld-i barīn*:

(a) the dignitaries are no longer quoted under their tribal headings;

(b) the majority of high officials is perhaps still Turcoman, but among them several are qualified as *ev-oghlï*, i.e., brought up at the Court, v.i., p. 141;

(c) at the head of the new troops (*qullar*) stood a Georgian prince, Khusrau-mīrzā, who later reigned in Georgia under the name of Rostom, while the Shah officially called him *Akhavi-üm*, "My brother." We also know that the office of *dārūgha* of Isfahan (§17) was nearly always

1 P. della Valle, 273, specially enumerates "Imam-culi chan di Sciraz, che e di razza armena, del paese de' Georgiani, Isuf chan di Scervan, figluolo di Armeno; Feridun chan di Esterabad, Circasso; Carcicà beig generalissimo, figluolo di Armeno cristiano; e cosi infiniti altri."

2 Lār was conquered by Allāh-verdī khan in 1010/1601, *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 425.

3 The corresponding numbers of the *ʿĀlam-ārā* are: 93, 72 and 21, but we take the numbers of the amirs as actually found in the text.

held by Georgian princes. Of the Tufangchi-bashis it can only be said that their appointments bore no relation to their tribal appurtenance;

(d) among the dignitaries, some newly converted Armenians are conspicuous, such as the Amīr-shikār Khusrau-sulṭān (*az ghulāmān-i jadīd al-Islām*) and the Shīrachī-bāshī Amīr-beg Armani (*ghulām-i khāṣṣa*), who was succeeded by his son Ṣafi-quli.[1]

The infiltration of Caucasians into Persia is a highly important phenomenon which profoundly modified the social basis of the ruling classes. The decisive factor in this process was ʿAbbās I's campaigns in Transcaucasia. Iskandar-munshi estimates the result of the raid into Kakhetia in 1025/1616 at 60–70,000 killed and 100–130,000 young captives of both sexes abducted to Persia: "since the beginning of Islam no such event has been heard of," *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 635.[2] As time went on Persia became brimful of Caucasian elements. Says Chardin, V, 307: "Le sang des Géorgiens s'est fort répandu dans la Perse, non seulement à cause que les plus belles femmes en viennent, et que chacun en veut avoir, mais parce qu' Abbas-le-Grand et ses successeurs ont pris plaisir à mettre les Géorgiens dans les emplois et depuis qu'ils ont conquis la Géorgie, ils en ont tiré une infinité de gens, qu'ils ont si bien avancés qu'à présent la plupart des charges sont dans les mains de gens originaires de la Géorgie." Tavernier (Book V, ch. X) goes so far as to suggest that "le sang ne s'est rendu beau en Perse que par le mélange des Géorgiens de l'un et de l'autre sexe avec les Persans."

With his usual perspicacity Chardin, V, 228, felt the danger of the situation, "car les Géorgiens et les Ibériens, à qui l'on donne l'état de gouverneur, étant presque tous esclaves d'origine et de véritables étrangers dans le gouvernement, ils n'ont nulles liaisons, soit dans le royaume, soit entre eux-mêmes, etc." The Georgians changed their religion with extraordinary sans-façon,[3] but Islam too sat lightly on their shoulders. No sooner did the Russian ambassador A. P. Volïnsky leave Persia (1718) than the "chief commander of Persian troops" (*qullar-āqāsī*?), who was the Georgian prince Vakhtang, son of Leon, sent to him an emissary to say that at heart he still remained a Christian.[4] In short the Caucasians and especially the Georgians occupied in Persia a position similar to that of the "Khorasani" amirs at the court of the later Mughals. The fact that these latter elements were not fully assimilated proved fatal at the moment of Nādir-shāh's march on Delhi.[5] Under

1 Quite independently Olearius, 667 (Engl. tr., 272). was struck by the fact that at his time "there was hardly any (officer of the court) who could make ostentation of but ordinary parentage." He scans the biographies of the dignitaries to confirm their low birth, or their Caucasian origin.

2 Georgians were settled in Mazandaran, near Isfahan, etc. Several villages in Firaydan still speak Georgian. The village of ʿAbbāsābād, on the Khorasan road is Georgian, but in 1934 I was told on the spot that only one very old woman could remember some Georgian.

3 Cf. Kaempfer, 240, whose passage is too strong to be quoted even in the original Latin.

4 Cf. also Minorsky, *Tiflis* in *E.I.* Cf. *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 568, on the desire which the Divan-begi Khusrau-khan (= Leon) expressed in 1707 to be admitted secretly into the Catholic Church.

5 See J. Sarkar in W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, 1922, II , 313.

the weak Shah Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, the internal contradictions of the Safavid "diarchy" had become a similar source of debility and decline.[1]

(c) Middle Classes

The available sources throw no light on the number and position of the petty land-owners (*khurda-mālik*). In any case, the expansion of the demesnes, the large number of Endowments, and the system of tiyūl set strict limits to the development of private initiative.

Neither is much known about the town bourgeoisie. As already said, the Shah was the largest capitalist. The merchants traded exclusively for cash,[2] but money was scarce. Most of it found its way into the Treasury, where it was hoarded (Chardin). A nefarious influence on credit and the money market was exercised by a multitude of Indian usurers (in Isfahan alone there were over 10,000 banyans!). ʿAbbās I prevented them from settling in Persia, but Shah Ṣafi was bribed by their presents with the result described by Chardin, IV, 64, in the following terms: "Ces Indiens, comme de vraies sangsues, tirent tout l'or et tout l'argent du pays et l'envoient dans le leur, de manière que l'an 1677 que je partis de la Perse on n'y voyait presque plus de bon argent: ces usuriers l'avaient fait entièrement disparaître."[3] The Indians doubled their stock-in-trade within 18–20 months. Ordinary Persian merchants made a profit of 30–40 per cent. yearly. They were a prosperous and enterprising class. Some of them had representatives simultaneously in China and in Sweden, Chardin, IV, 167. An idea of the amount of the stock-in-trade and hoards possessed by the merchants is given by the story found in the *Z.T.*, f. 208b: During the siege of Isfahan by the Afghans the author Muḥammad Muḥsin was commissioned to carry out a door-to-door search for food. At the Maydān-i Shah, in the house of a trader in precious stuffs (*naqshīna-furūsh*), he discovered hidden 14 bags weighing each 100 Tabriz maunds, or more. The bags proved to contain new ʿabbāsī coins (*zar-i ʿabbāsī-yi tāza-sikka*).[4] M. Muḥsin's companions, pressed by hunger, were greatly disappointed by the useless find and refused to take any of the money. 1400 maunds of silver = 89.600 mithqāls, were worth 1792 tomans (1 ʿabbāsī being equal to 1 mithqāl, and there being 50 ʿabbāsīs

1 Under Sulṭan-Ḥusayn, some recrudescence of Turkish influence seems to have taken place at the court, cf. Z.T., f. 208a, on the "new cabinet" of Muḥammad-quli khān Shāmlū.

2 Using in mutual payments bags of 50 tumans in silver, Chardin, IV, 170.

3 Down to the beginning of the twentieth century India was draining from Persia great masses of silver.

4 Persia's silk trade would merit a special study. There was much political intrigue regarding the route which the silk was to follow: via Aleppo (supported by the English "Levant Co."), via the Persian Gulf and round Africa (supported by the East India Co.), and via Russia (supported by the Muscovy Co.), see Sir W. Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, 1933. In his instructions to A. P. Volïnsky (1715) Peter the Great enjoined his envoy to emphasise by every possible means the advantages of the waterway through Russia in order to divert the trade from Aleppo. [On this point the forged document called "Testament of Peter the Great," makes a particularly gross error.]

in a toman). Nevertheless, on the whole, the amount of Persian trade could not be called vast. Mines were still undeveloped, and the staple exports consisted of silk, brocades, carpets, some precious stones (turquoise), camel wool, tobacco, dried fruit, etc., Chardin, IV, 162–6.

The most important article was silk.[1] According to Chardin, the yearly export of silk amounted to 22,000 bales (each of 276 pounds), of which the Dutch took circa 2000 bales. Le Brun, 313, states that the Shah was obliged by a contract to deliver yearly to the Dutch East India Co. 100 bales of silk, each to contain 408 pounds, Dutch weight. The silk was then made up in lesser bales and despatched to Batavia *via* Gombrun. In return, the Company had to deliver 1200 chests of sugar, each of 150 pounds, which was all consumed in Isfahan. The Shah levied ⅓ of the produce of the silk as his royalty and then endeavoured to dispose of it through his agents, principally Armenians, Du Mans, 183. The latter held also in their hands all the trade in cloth, Chardin, VII, 367. In these cases of practical monopoly the profits made by Armenians usually remained in Persia,[2] but it was not so with foreign companies and merchants, whom the Shah especially patronised. They certainly secured for Persia an opening on the European markets, but in the meanwhile exported the proceeds of their transactions out of the country.

(d) Working Class

Towns, and especially Isfahan, had various classes of artisans[3] organised into mediaeval guilds (*aṣnāf*). They possessed elected representatives (see *T.M.*, §76 and §79), but the latter's competence seems to have been rather restricted, except in the cases when they had to call up their guildsmen for carrying out corvées for the King.[4] These services formed an important prerogative of the Shah, who had most of the work in the palace done without charge. The guilds which were not responsible for personal work had to pay a levy called *kharj-i padshāh*. In the provinces there flourished some traditional crafts which were also drained into the court channels (cf. f. 49b).

A privileged class of artisans were those belonging to the Royal Workshops (§32–§49). Each workman had a letter-patent of his appointment in which the amount of his salary was indicated.[5] The highest paid workmen had a salary of 800 écus, i.e., 55 tomans (!) and their food, but there were others who received only 70–80 francs, i.e., under 2 tomans yearly (plus their food). Each three years the salaries were raised, or in some cases a present (*inʿām*) was given amounting

1 See footnote 4 on p. 21.

2 See, however, on the wealth amassed by the Catholic family of Shermazan partly established in Italy, *The Chronicle of the Carmelites*, pp. 1358–62.

3 See their lists in Du Mans, 195–211, and Chardin, IV, 95–151.

4 Chardin, IV, 93, but cf. VI, 119, on the corvées.

5 Chardin, VII, 329–34. Cf. Or. 4935, No. 9b: appointment of an *ayāqchi* to be under the orders of the *Lala-yi ghulāmān*, with a salary of 2 tomans per year.

to a whole year's salary. Presents were also given to the workmen who did some particularly good work or offered the King a master-piece. The food (*jīra*, "keep") given to the workmen was by the plate, or half-a-plate or a quarter-of-a-plate.[1] A "plate" consisted of everything necessary for subsistence and could feed 6–7 persons. In money such a grant amounted yearly to 8–900 livres, i.e., about 20 tomans, and one could receive the equivalent of the *jīra* in cash.

The salaries were paid once a year after a "review" (*sān*) held in the summer. The usual form of payment was in assignments, and one of the workmen, acting on behalf of his colleagues, had to collect the amount on the spot. In the process of collection the workmen lost from 5 per cent. to 10 per cent. of the sums due to them.

A considerable advantage was that the workmen were kept for life and never dismissed; in case of illness or diminished capacity for work their salary was not reduced, and they received free treatment from the Court doctors and chemists. No sweating system was applied to the workmen, who might work for their own benefit four times as much as for the King. Chardin saw jewellers who had had no orders from the King for 3 or 4 years.[2] The workmen who had to follow the Court on its travels were given camels and horses, but they easily obtained permission to stay at home,[3] or, alternately, were granted leave after 6–12 months' absence. The children of the workmen were taken into service at the age of 12–15 years, and after their fathers' death received their salaries.

European artisans were the object of special patronage and prospered in Isfahan.[4]

Of the peasants, the most numerous class forming the basis of the Persian polity, we are unfortunately not adequately informed.[5] Theoretically, the peasants enjoyed personal freedom (?), but they did not possess land. They either rented it or entered into a kind of association, either with the Shah's representatives, or with private owners.[6] The leasable lands were few and lay mostly in the neighbourhood of large towns, being used for growing vegetables, i.e., for crops less subject to the uncertainties of ordinary agriculture. The rent of such market-gardening lands around Isfahan reached 30 écus (6600 dinars or 0.66 toman), and more, per 1 jarīb (measuring less than an arpent). In our text the terms *ijāra, mustaʾjir* ("lease, tenant") possibly refer to this kind of exploitation.

The other system (*muzāraʿa*), which was almost universal, consisted in an as-

1 Here Chardin's data, almost entirely coincide with Du Mans, 26, v.i., p. 172.

2 Chardin's idyllic picture seems to refer particularly to the highly qualified jewellers with whom he was best acquainted professionally.

3 In the critical moments of Tahmāsp II's struggle with the Afghans, the workmen (*'amala-yi kārkhānajāt*) were thrown against the enemy, *Z.T.*, f. 211a.

4 Cf. Kaempfer, 175, on the seven French goldsmiths and specialists in enamel-work "*familias suas Regio stipendio sustentantes lautissime*." According to the same author, 129, they depended on the Nāẓir-i Buyūtāt. The watchmakers had no special workshop but were assigned to that of the armourers.

5 Our chief guide is Chardin, V, 380–93.

6 Chardin says nothing about the peasants of the *vaqf* lands.

sociation of the owner and the labourer in the partition of the harvest. Although the formula of *ʿavāmil-i panjgāna* does not seem to be recorded in contemporary sources, the doctrine which it covers is undoubtedly of great antiquity and by its simplicity must have influenced Persian practice at all times. It assumes that five factors are responsible for agricultural produce, viz., land, water, seeds, labour and oxen, and that the distribution of produce between the owner and the labourer is to be carried out in proportion to their responsibility for the said factors.[1] The formula has in view chiefly irrigated lands, for on "dry" lands the harvest would have to be divided only into four parts. The theory was seldom applied to the letter and in practice the shares varied considerably. Chardin, V, 384, 392, states that a seigneur "ordinarily" received ⅓ of the produce of the land and animals, except for fruit trees from which he had ½–⅔, and for wood from which he had ⅔. Kaempfer, 91, is more explicit as to the share of the peasant in the neighbourhood of Isfahan. If the King gave seeds and water, while the peasant contributed oxen, manure, personal work and additional servitudes (*ʿavāriḍ*?), the peasant received ⅓ of the harvest and the King ⅔. If the King supplied oxen and tools and remitted the servitudes ("servitia divani"), the peasant's part fell to ¼,[2] and if the King provided also the labour (?), that share did not exceed ⅛. From rice, millet, cotton, beans, fenugreek, melons and pumpkins the peasant, even if he did everything by himself, received ⅖. From opium, his share was equal to 55/140 ("55 partes papaverini proventus, in centenas et quadragenas divisae"?). In the case of melons, etc., the peasant's contribution was not in kind but in money, according to the current price, with the additional 15 per cent.; corn was delivered in kind but also with a surtax of 1½ mahmudi per 100 maunds (each = 9 Brabant pounds). On top of all this, the King's part was augmented by a fresh 2/100 tax payable in cash.[3] Even with such additional charges the basic arrangement was not too unjust, but the state of the peasants was considerably worsened by the corvées imposed by the landlord. Says Chardin, V, 390: "Il les emploie a des ouvrages qu'il fait faire sur les lieus, edifices, jardins et autres, ou bien il faut que le village lui donne par jour tant de gens sans aucun salaire. Il se fait donner des voitures pour rien par ces paysans. Il se fait nourrir par eux tant de jours quand il est sur les lieux, et quelquefois il convertit la nourriture en argent. Ses receveurs, ou les intendants qu'il envoie, sont traités de même, et il met encore d'autres taxes semblables." It appears, *ibid.*, 387, that such vexations[4] were much more felt on the lands belonging to the Shah or held by the grand dignitaries of the State,[5] then on those of private owners.

1 Karim Sendjabi, *Essai sur l'économie rurale et le régime agraire de la Perse*, Paris, 1934, pp. 192–4.

2 Cf. f. 83b: *chahār-yak-i nasaq*.

3 These taxes did not apply to privately owned lands (*arbābī*) which were lightly assessed *per jugerum* (*jarīb*?), though the tax was sometimes considerably aggravated by the financial authorities.

4 *Carmelites*, 116: expenses on King's guests exacted fourfold from peasants.

5 It is right to be remembered that the holders of tiyuls had a right of jurisdiction over the peasants, v.i., p. 30.

In spite of this statement, Chardin, *ibid*., 387–90, was greatly impressed by the cunning wiles which the peasants used in order to obtain a diminution of their liabilities, under the pretext of bad crops. According to him they were sometimes encouraged by financial agents themselves who had more profits in re-estimating the crops than in applying the established rule of partition. Consequently the agreement between the lord and the peasant was "une source intarissable de fraude, de contestation et de violence ou la justice n'est presque jamais gardée." Chardin concludes with a rather unexpected statement, which he himself finds singular, that in such conflicts "le seigneur est celui qui a toujours (*sic*) du pire et qui est lésé." In the same vein, he gives the following picture of the condition of Persian peasants, *ibid*., 391 : "Ils vivent assez à leur aise, et je puis assurer qu'il y en a d'incomparablement plus misérables dans les plus fertiles pays de l'Europe. J'ai vu partout les paysanes persanes avec des carcans d'argent, et de gros anneaux d'argent aux mains et aux pieds, avec des chaînes qui leur pendent du cou sur le nombril, ou sont passées tout le long des pièces d'argent, et quelquefois des pièces d'or. On voit les enfans parés de même, avec des colliers de corail au cou. Ils sont, hommes et femmes, bien chaussés et bien vêtus; ils sont bien fournis de vaisselle et de meubles; mais, en échange de ces aises, ils sont exposés aux injures, et quelquefois à des coups de bâton de la part des gens du roi et des vizirs, quand on ne leur donne pas assez tôt ce qu'ils demandent, ce qui s'entend des hommes seulement; car pour les femmes et les filles, on a des égards pour elles partout dans l'Orient, et il n'arrive jamais qu'on mette la main dessus."

Behind this curious oscillation of Chardin's judgment may lie the comparison which the clever observer could not fail to draw between Persia and pre-revolutionary France, where the condition of the peasantry was intolerable.[1]

(e) Causes of Decline

We have seen the stages of the final disruption of the Safavid state, under the blows of military failures (v.s., p. 10). The social and economic background of Persia which we have tried to outline should now enable us to find the causes of the spectacular fall of the Safavids. The subject needs a detailed investigation, but we shall not shirk the responsibility of summing up the more conspicuous factors:

(a) The complete disappearance of the basic theocratic nucleus round which Shah Ismāʿīl had built up his state, without the substitution of some other dynamic ideology.

(b) Great opposition between the old and the new elements in the Persian military class.

(c) The disturbance of the equilibrium between the *mamālīk* and *khāṣṣa*, the expansion of the latter having diminished the interest of the service classes in the cause which they were supporting.

(d) The irresponsible character of the "shadow government" represented by

1 Taine, *Ancien Régime*, Livre v, Chapter i (especially the quotations in °iii).

the harem, the Queen Mother and the eunuchs.

(e) The degeneration of the dynasty whose scions were brought up in the atmosphere of the harem, in complete ignorance of the outside world.[1] Shah Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was undoubtedly a mild-natured man, but even his historiographer, M. Muḥsin, does not throw any veil over his ineptitude, *Z.T.*, 203a: he begins by stating that the Shah was "very clement, modest, eschewing sin and adorned with the embellishments of probity and rectitude; he strove for what was dictated by auspiciousness, was self-restrained and pious." Then he records his boundless liberality towards the divines, to whom he lavishly distributed pensions, soyūrghāls, etc. The courtiers, by collusion, received important grants for visiting the Holy Places. They acquired great independence and handled important affairs. "Most of the time the Shah spent in the company of divines, sayyids, the Ḥakīm-bāshī, the Mullā-bāshī, discussing literary problems and poetry, the preparation of dishes and medicines, while the ordaining of the state affairs[2] was left to the amirs, who hated each other." Much more caustic in their judgments were the foreigners. The Dutchman Le Brun, who was in Isfahan in 1704, notes the Shah's passion for building and hunting (venery) and proceeds: "he indulges himself to such a degree, in the gratification of every unruly and inordinate passion that he is perfectly regardless of state affairs, and the welfare of his subjects, and through his vicious example there is but little justice administered throughout all his extensive dominions. Licentiousness reigns in every part and the most vicious meet with no control." The Persians openly declare that "they have nothing of a king but the bare name." The Russian envoy, A. P. Volïnsky (*circa* 1718) described the Shah as a typical product of harem education. "The present head is such that instead of being above his subjects, he is his own subjects' subject; I believe that seldom can one find such a fool among commoners, to say nothing of crowned heads."[3] The ambassador's judgment was not obscured by his personal grudge against the Persians, for at that very moment the shrewd Afghan, Mīr Vays, kept as hostage in Isfahan, came to the conclusion that the attack on Persia which he was meditating would present no difficulty.

B. Single Questions of State Organisation

(aa) Dīvān-i Mamālik and Khāṣṣa

It is a moot question how the idea of the State, if ever distinctly realised, was expressed in Safavid terminology. Perhaps the term *daulat* (f. 22b) was the near-

1 *Z.T.*, i. 210a: during the siege of Isfahan it was decided that one of the princes should escape from the capital and bring reinforcements from outside. The Shah's eldest son, Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, was brought out of the harem and placed on a throne (as the heir apparent?). "He took fright at the multitude of men and at the tumult (*qichqirāy*) of the people of Isfahan, for he had never been outside. … When the meeting was dissolved (*bar-ham-khurda*) he got up and returned to the harem." His candidature had then to be given up.

2 The text is corrupt at this place.

3 Solovyev, *Istoriya Rossii*, 2nd ed., IV, 665.

est equivalent, for the meaning of "happiness," which it also contains, allowed this cloak to be thrown over the whole fabric under the "felicitous ruler." On f. 10 *mamlakat* is used in the same general sense of "realm," but it usually has a special meaning, particularly as a plural, *mamālik-i maḥrūsa*. Our source, f. 8b, once speaks of "the *vilāyats* of the God-protected *mamālik*," indicating thereby that the notion *mamālik* was distinct from that of a purely territorial division expressed by *vilāyats* (ff. 16b, 18a). Generally speaking, *mamālik* were the "state provinces" administered through the Dīvān-i mamālik, as distinguished from the Khāṣṣa, "demesnes." On f. 7a, *mamlakat*, in this special sense, refers to one of the "mamālik."

In a well-known passage of his *Turkestan* (p. 227) Barthold says: "throughout the whole system of the eastern Muslim political organisation there runs like a red thread the division of all the organs of administration into two main categories, the *dargāh* (palace) and *dīvān* (chancery)." In terms of financial administration, the funds controlled by these two branches were called *māl-i khāṣṣa* (?) and *māl-i masālih*, see *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 372. Under the Mongols, the division of the administration and finances into *injü* ("demesnes") and *bidūn* or *dalay* ("State Treasury") was still more clearly defined. In his memorandum on taxation *Naṣīr al-dīn*, p. 779, distinguishes between *māl-i khāṣṣa* and *māl-i masālih-i pādshāhī*, the term *pādshāhi* standing for "kingdom." The *khāṣṣa* of Safavid times is only a development of *injü*, and under the later Safavids there is a distinct tendency towards a further extension of the "demesnes" to the detriment of "state" administration.[1]

Chardin, V, 249–79, has made a deep study of the subject.

The majority of the provinces of Persia called *mamālik*[2] were placed under governors of different degrees (*beglarbegi*, "governor-general," *khān*, "governor," *sulṭān*, "deputy governor"). These officials were appointed for life (*ibid.*, 255) and received special instructions (*ibid.*, 265) concerning their duties, the amount of revenue to collect, etc. They sent to the capital only limited sums of cash, but considerable stocks (*bārkhāna*) of local products for the King's table and raw materials for the Royal workshops. Their activities were controlled by vazīrs[3] and by the intelligence officers of the Vāqi'a-nivīs (§17), *ibid.*, 258, 260, appointed from the capital and independent of the local authority.[4] For the rest, the governors enjoyed great freedom. They collected local revenue and used local resources for assignments to their subordinates among whom there were considerable contin-

1 Cf. D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, IV, 97. In spite of the spelling *dilār* found in the *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, *GMS*, 554, 557, Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, 305, writes *dālāy* [B.M. Or. 16, 688, f. 265b: *d.lāy*], which most probably is connected with Mongolian *dalay*, "ocean." Prof. W. Kotwicz kindly suggested to me, as a parallel to this surmise, the title *dalay-khan*, i.e., "the oceanic, universal Khan of all the state."

2 Chardin, v, 250: *pays d'état.*

3 Chardin apparently has in view the financial agents under the Mustaufī al-mamālik and not the vazirs of the Dīvān-i Khāṣṣa controlling the demesnes.

4 Indirectly they were controlled by the representatives of the Ṣadr (§2), in charge of the vaqfs.

gents of armed attendants.

The supervision of the mamālik provinces was concentrated in a special Dīvān-i mamālik and, although in practice it could hardly be construed into a "State" administration entirely distinct from the direct interests of the King and his Court, the permanent character of appointments and the governors' close connection with their provinces gave certain guarantees to the population of the regular work of the administrative machine. It was thought that the governors, acting as they did chiefly in frontier regions, were interested in the welfare of their territories exposed to external danger, *ibid*., 279. The Persians, *ibid*., 253, pointed out the advantage of the system of autonomous governors who consumed in a province what they collected in it.[1]

The *khāṣṣa* branch of administration was frankly that of the Royal Household. Its accountancy was kept at the Dīvān-i khāṣṣa whose head was the Mustaufi-yi khāṣṣa. To some extent, the latter seems to have been subordinated to the Mustaufi al-mamālik (§18), and consequently to the Grand Vazir (§6), but in fact the whole of the Khāṣṣa was controlled by the prevailing Nāẓir (§11). The territories under the Khāṣṣa were administered by the King's stewards (*vazīrs*).[2] Says Chardin, V, 276: "the government of the 'intendants' is held in Persia to be very detrimental to the kingdom and capable in time of ruining it through intolerable extortions by which they oppress the provinces, while they behave everywhere like people whom nothing can satisfy." They obtained their places by currying the favour of the courtiers and the harem, to whom they advanced money which they themselves had to borrow at a considerable discount.[3] As a compensation, they hurried to bleed the common people, feeling convinced that their protectors would hush up any protests coming from that quarter. It was the general opinion, *ibid*., 253, that the khāṣṣa system impoverished the country by draining into the Shah's coffers the money which ought to have circulated in the country. Fars especially is quoted as a case in point, for here the change of the system had reduced the population by 80,000.

Chardin affirms that the practice of the khāṣṣa administration[4] was first introduced under Shah Ṣafī by his Grand Vazir Sārū-Taqī, "Red-haired Taqi."[5] This thrifty eunuch explained to the King that the time of wars being over there was no need to spend money on governors who kept a large number of troops and had their own provincial courts. His advice was followed and the province of Fars was

1 On the magnificence of the provincial courts see Chardin, v, 255: the governors had their own workshops (*buyūtāt*).

2 The terms *ḍābiṭ*, *mutaṣaddī*, used in our text, probably refer to their subordinates.

3 An evil against which Ghazan-khan had to take drastic measures by abolishing interest on loans, Rashid al-dīn, ed. Jahn, p. 313. On the contrary, on Shah Tahmāsp's usury see d'Alessandri, 222.

4 Meaning by this not its creation (v.s. *injü/dalay*), but the gradual absorption of whole provinces in the Khāṣṣa.

5 On his career, see *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 786, *Khuld-i barīn*, f. 137b (printed text, p. 260), Chardin, VII, 302–15.

the first to be "annexed" by the King.[1] 'Abbās II abolished governorships in the inner part of Persia, as well as in the provinces where there was no fear of war, such as Qazvin, Gilan, Mazandaran, Yazd, Kerman, Khorasan (?) and Azarbayjan (?), *ibid*., 251.[2] No doubt that in his paragraph on the Khāṣṣa Chardin has unmasked one of the basic evils of administration which contributed to the fall of the dynasty.[3]

(bb) Immunities, Assignments and Fees

Persian money circulation was necessarily limited both on account of the weakness of the commerce[4] and of the difficulty of transportation of larger sums. Gold coins, combining high value with small bulk, were struck only on solemn occasions (v.i., p. 143). Foreign gold penetrated into Persia chiefly in the form of Venetian ducats,[5] probably in payment for silk exported by Armenian merchants.[6] Silver currency suffered from occasional adulterations, as well as from counterfeiting.[7] The money entering the Royal Treasury was hoarded and hardly ever reappeared in circulation. Chardin, V, 429, calls the Treasury "un vrai gouffre, car tout s'y perd et il en sort très peu de chose." Of the hoarding by private persons we possess a significant example in the story quoted on p. 22. Indian money-lenders were particularly responsible for the withdrawal of good coins from the commerce, v.s., p. 21.

1 Already under the Mongols Fars was *injü*. The historian Wassāf, 435, gives many details on the revenue of this province. Olearius, 271, who visited Shah Ṣafī's court enumerates the places which had no khans and were governed by dārūghas as follows: a part of Georgia, the cities of Qazvin, Isfahan, Kashan, Tehran, Mashhad, Kerman, Ormuz. No soldiers were maintained in them and their taxes went to the king.

2 This list has no claim to accuracy. In another passage, v, 381, Chardin enumerates "le pays de domaine" as follows: Parthia (= Khorasan ?), Fars, part of Kerman, Hyrcania (= Mazandaran), part of Media and "Esteboonat." As the author explains that the last name covers "more than half of ancient Chaldea" (i.e., of Khūzistān ?) it is probable that what he really means is "Behbehān" and not "Istahbānāt" of Fars. An indirect but more exact indication of the localities withdrawn from the Divan administration can be gathered from the list of towns under the jurisdiction of the Sadr-i Khāṣṣa, f. 4a.

3 Kaempfer, 88, is less definite. Speaking of the beglarbegis, etc., he remarks: horum autem status, magnificentiam imitando Regiam, omnes propemodum exhaurit reditus Provinciae, quam quisque gubemat; exceptis, qui in nonnulis Regio aerario reservati sunt. Kaempfer, 140, particularly refers to "the province of Shīrāz," as being governed by a vazir of the Khāṣṣa.

4 Chardin, v, 416, states that "il n'y a ni assez de commerce, ni assez de mouvement dans le pays pour réduire aisément tout en argent."

5 Du Mans, 33, Chardin, v, 432.

6 Father Pacifique de Provins (1628) reports in his Voyage, ed. 1645, p. 409, that when Armenians brought with them "sequins et piastres" (each = 58 sols) they took them to the " Secque [?] or Mint" which paid them some interest. The coins received a Persian imprint and the King gained some benefit from this operation. The King's coins never left Persian territory because they were nowhere (?) accepted except by weight. [Secque = ital. zecca "Mint".]

7 Kaempfer, 53: in order to spite the Uzbek embassy, 3000 tomans were struck in coins containing only ¼ of silver. In 1684, out of 30.000 tomans deposited at the Treasury only 300 were found in due form. In November, 1685, the old money was suddenly abrogated but in its stead the Master of the Mint introduced new debased money, for which misdeed he was blinded by the king's order.

This situation considerably affected the methods of Persian administration. As a Frenchman, Chardin several times expresses astonishment that the farming out of the state resources was well-nigh unknown in Persia, and that in its stead the taxes were collected directly by the government representatives ("régie"). But the French system presupposed the existence of large reserves of ready money. The scarcity of the latter also accounts for the specific system of remuneration of Government troops and officials. The Treasury proceeded chiefly by granting various exemptions or by issuing "assignments" on local resources controlled by the Government.

The best known of the terms referring to "immunities" from taxes and levies[1] is *soyūrghāl*. It had a perpetual and hereditary character and, by its virtue, the area held by the grantee formed a kind of autonomous enclave within the state territory. By its origins the soyūrghāl seems to have been connected with an obligation for the beneficiary to have in readiness a stipulated number of troops. In later times, the soyūrghāls were often connected with religious endowments, as hinted at in §87.[2] The evil of the soyūrghāls, which the kings distributed with much arbitrariness, was fully realised by the responsible authorities, but the interests at work were too mighty for anything to be done. We know of a catastrophic end of the tentative efforts made under Sulṭan Yaʿqūb Aq-qoyunlu to suspend the soyūrghāls at Isfahan and Shiraz.[3]

As to the other forms of immunities, called *muʿāfī* and *musallamī* (ff. 11b, 90a, 96a) it is difficult to say yet in what they differed from the soyūrghāl.[4] The term *ulkā* (**ölgä*), which occurs in our text on f. 108a, apparently applies to a territory "held" by a particular clan, cf. *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 100 (thrice).

Much more general and frequent was the system of *tiyūl*[5] which corresponded to the *iqṭāʿ* of earlier times.[6] Tiyūl was given only for limited periods. It was of two categories: either it was a regular accompaniment of an office and was transferred to each subsequent holder of it, or it was granted by the king through the Divan, presumably for the life time of the recipient.[7] For the first (*istiṣvābī*) category we

1 Comparable to mediaeval *beneficia*.

2 See Minorsky, *A soyurghal*, in which five similar documents of 1417, 1488, 1498, 1559 and 1702 A.D. are analysed. In Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, the term *soyūrghāl* does not occur, and *soyūrghamīshī* means only "favourable reception, favours."

3 *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*, ff. 165–6; also see below, p. 30: on tiyūls.

4 An exemption given in 773/1372 by Ahmad Jalāyir to Shaykh Ṣadr al-dīn of Ardabīl refers to an ancient *musallami* based on a *muqarrar-nāma-yi dīvān*; in practice it looks very similar to a soyūrghāl, cf. H. Massé, *Jour. As.*, July, 1938, pp. 465–8.

5 This form is confirmed by Chardin, v, 416: *tyoul*, and Kaempfer, 97: *tiyuul*, but the present Persian pronunciation is *toyūl*. The term means "something allotted, assigned," and is derived from the Oriental Turkish verb *tiy-mäk* (= Ottoman Turkish *deġmek*), "to fall to someone's lot". Cf. Minorsky, *Tiyūl* in *E.I.* (where the remarks on soyūrghāl are to be amended).

6 The term *iqṭāʿ* is exceptionally found in our text on ff. 71b, 90a and 96a, each time together with *soyūrghāl*, *muʾāfī* and other terms referring to acts of particular royal benevolence. Although we have no means of distinguishing between *tiyūl* and *iqṭāʿ*, the latter in Safavid times may have had a more honorary character without a special connection with "services," while tiyūl was meant to be a form of salary.

7 Even with a hope that his heirs might be appointed to maintain the tiyūl, Chardin, v, 420.

have a number of examples in *T.M.*, §88 and §89 (in the latter case the tiyūl was combined with a governorship).

Not quite clear is the relation between the grantees and the population on the territory of their tiyūl. Both in Seljuk and Mongol days the principle was maintained that the fief-holders had only the right to collect the revenue due to the King's Treasury, without interfering with any other rights of the population. In the famous passage of the *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Schefer, p. 28, Nizām al-mulk resolutely says that "the holders of *iqṭāʿ* must know that they have no other power (*az farmān*) over the peasants but to levy the legal taxes (*māl-i ḥaqq*) which have been assigned (*havālat*) to them, and this in a gentle way. After the collection of the said (dues) the peasants will remain secure with regard to their bodies, property, wives and children." Ghazan-khan's equally famous law of 703/1303 concerning military fiefs also stipulates that the iqṭāʿdārs "should not say: 'The peasants of these places have been given to us by virtue of iqṭāʿ; they are our slaves (*asīr*).' The military have no other power over the peasants than to see that they cultivate their fields and to take from them the [legal] share in kind and the divan revenue (*lashkariyān-rā bar raʿāyā ziyādat az ān ḥukm nīst ki īshān-ra ba-zirāʿat-i dīh-hā-yi khud dārand va bahra-yi mal va mutavajjahāt-i dīvāni ba-rāstī az-īshān sitānand*); and further: "if the members of the army take from the peasants more than is specifically indicated in the General Register of taxes … they will be guilty,—for we have not given the peasants to the army (*agar mardum-i cherīk niz ziyādat az ān-chi ba-daftar-i qānūn dar-āmada va mufassal nivishta shuda az raʿāyā chīzī sitānand: — va raʿiyat-rā-ki ba-cherīk nadāda-īm … īshān nīs gunākkār shavand*)."[1] Such theories on the rights of the tiyūldārs were recognised down to the Persian Revolution when tiyūls were finally abrogated, but we know that the powerful fief-holders at all times contrived to circumvent the theoretical distinctions and limitations, so as to transform their holdings into a more permanent ownership and even to assume some seignorial rights on them. Olearius, 673, confirms that the assignees collected the taxes (Tribut) and had the rights of jurisdiction over the peasants, except that of capital punishment ("ausgenommen in Hals Sachen"). Very characteristic too are Chardin's remarks on the contemporary practice. He writes, V, 418, that the lands assigned for salary "are not under the inspection of the King's men; they are like the property ("comme propres") of him to whom they are given. In the matter of revenue he deals as he wishes with the local inhabitants, as is the case of our 'bénéfices' in Europe." Kaempfer, too, 98, defines tiyūl as "pagi, praedia, vel fundi, qui dantur ministris Regiis, ut durante servitio, eorum possessione (*sic*) at annona gaudeant." Chardin, p. 419, quotes the right of a tiyūldār to live on local resources when he visits the land assigned to him, and to mulct disturbances (*nizāʿ*).[2] Consequently, the tiyūl of Safavid times

1 *GMS*, ed. Jahn, p. 306–7, 309; Br. Mus. Or. 16,688, ff. 266a–207a. Cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, IV, 426.

2 In 1905, in a mountain village near Maraud, I was engaged in a conversation with, the Governor's ghulām, who was accompanying me. Suddenly my interlocutor's attention slack-

included some definitely seignorial rights. Financially, one of the appreciable advantages in numerous cases was the difference between the official estimation of the tiyūls and the real revenue collected by the grantee.[1] The abuses with the tiyūls were numerous, but any attempt against the interests of the powerful caste were doomed to failure. Chardin, V, 419, states that Shah Sulaymān's famous Grand Vazir Shaykh ʿAlī khan[2] never dared to carry out his intention to revise the system of assignments.

The assignments called *barāt* were mere drafts for collecting some revenue due to the government. Their value and security considerably increased if they were *hama-sāla*, i.e., if the beneficiary was perpetually assigned on the same source of revenue. Less appreciated were the *yak-sāla* renewed yearly.

Apart from regular salaries (*mavājib*), there existed different classes of special allowances, enumerated in great detail in the Conclusion of *T.M.*, v.i., p. 170. Our source gives us also a sufficiently clear idea of the complicated system of fees (*rusūm, dūshulluk*) established in favour of various classes of officials and consisting of some percentage, either deducted from the disbursements made by the Shah and the Treasury, or added to the amount of presents made to the Shah.

(cc) Royal Buyūtāt

In the absence of capitalistic industry, Safavid kings, similarly to their predecessors and contemporaries,[3] had to secure the production of certain necessaries and *objets de luxe* at the workshops of their own household. Many of these buyūtāt were simply domestic departments, such as the kitchen, scullery, various stores, stables, kennels, etc. There were, however, some buyūtāt which were run like real state-owned manufactories. Our source mentions a weaving mill (*shaʿr-bāf-khāna*)[4] two Tailoring Dts., the Mint consisting of seven departments, the Arsenal, etc.

Chardin, VII, 329–34, says that the Nāẓir-i buyūtāt (§11) was the superintendent of the "Workshops," while the Director General of the latter, as well as of the "intendans de ce qui se fait pour le roi, en ville et à la campagne" was called "erbab tahvil, comme qui dirait seigneur *de la mise* et *de l'emplette*." As explained below, p. 121, Chardin must have in view the Mustaufī-yi arbāb-i taḥāvīl (§51). Each workshop was administered by four persons: (*a*) "un intendan qu'on appelle chef

ened while he seemed to take a deep interest in the shrill voices of two women having a discussion up the nullah. The ghulām vanished but soon returned breathing contentment. "Fined them both," he said to me. Chardin, V, 419, must refer to a similar right of the tiyūl-holders. The mutilated term *purzi al-nezāh*, which he uses, may represent something like *farḍ al-nizāʿ*.

1 In more detail, v.i., p. 170.

2 Of the Kurdish family Zangana.

3 For Mongol times see Rashīd al-dīn's description of the arsenal, ed. Jahn, pp. 336–9; for India, Ibn Hasan, *o.c.*, 236: the Mughal sultans had 36 kārkhānas. v.i., p. 135.

4 Du Mans, 195, explains *shaʿr-bāf* as "ouvrier en toile d'or, d'argent et de soie à haute lice," but this may be a mistake for *zarbāf*, "brocade," Chardin, IV, 152.

du métier qui s'y fait," (*b*) un syndic qui est le plus ancien ouvrier de la maison, (*c*) un mochref ou écrivain qui tient compte des ouvriers et des ouvrages donnant les matières par compte, et les recevant de même, et (*d*) un huissier." In the terms of our source (§127 –§163), (*a*) is *ṣāḥib-jam*, (*b*) *ustā*, "master," (*c*) *mushrif*, (*d*) probably *kilīd-dār*. With regard to (*b*) only occasional references are found in the text as, for example, in the description of the Mint, where it is said that the Muʿayyir al-mamālik appointed the "masters of the seven shops."[1]

Chardin counts thirty-two workshops (*T.M.*, f. 20a: thirty-three), each with some 150 workmen, more or less, e.g., there were 180 tailors but only 72 painters. The annual expenditure of the Workshops amounted to 5 million [écus?], i.e., *circa* 350,000 tomans. Some workshops, as the dye-works and the silk factory,[2] had been abolished and replaced by a system under which linen to be dyed was sent into the town, and silk and gold thread ("fil trait") were issued for the making of all kinds of textiles, brocades and carpets, the buyūtāt administration paying for the work at a fixed tariff. This practice of *taḥvīl-i aṣnāf* is referred to on ff. 99b and 101a. Carpets were also made in the country by workmen to whom the King gave lands and who paid their rent in the produce of their hands.

(dd) Military Forces

The Safavids were the direct successors of the Turcoman dynasties of the Black Sheep and the White Sheep, with whom they had manifold relations. Not improperly the early Safavid state may be considered as the third stage of the Turcoman dominion in Persia.

The military force of Shah Ismāʿīl with which he defeated the Aq-qoyunlu Alvand and Murād was organised like that of his enemies,[3] i.e., on purely tribal principles, even the Ṣūfī life-guards being designated after their clans. The deficiencies of this system, as compared with the modernised Ottoman organisation, were made abundantly clear in the unfortunate battle of Chaldïran (A.D. 1514). Very soon, too, the Shāhī-sevan tribes, which formed the backbone of the army,[4] manifested their praetorian nature: individual tribes supported their own candidates to high offices, resisted the suggestions of their rivals and often came to blows with them in the Shah's presence.[5] As such conditions endangered the existence of the state. Shah Tahmāsp began to disband and disperse the unruly tribes, but the fundamental reform was accomplished only under ʿAbbās I, who diminished

1 On the contrary the "master of the butchers" (f. 51a) seems to be not a member of the buyūtāt but a representative of the butchers' guild (cf. 81b), possibly identical with the syndic (*kadkhodā*), cf. 81a.

2 Chardin, v, 414; "*le roi … fait travailler la soie qu'il reçoit pour son droit.*" …

3 On the Aq-qoyunlu army see my article, *A Civil and Military Review in 1478*, *BSOS*, x/1, 141–78.

4 See below Annex ii; Supporters of the Safavids.

5 *Aḥsan al-tavārikh*, p. 235 (year 937/1530); during a brawl in the Royal Divan two arrows came to hit the Shah's crown!

the number of tribal forces and side by side with them created new troops, armed with up-to-date weapons and fully dependent on the central government. Like the Ottoman janissaries, the Shah's new regiments were recruited chiefly from the converts to Islam (Georgians, Armenians, etc.), who were free from the drawback of tribal allegiance.

Unluckily for us, local sources so far known contain no record of the reforms and their date. In his letter of 22 April, 1619, P. della Valle says that the corps of musqueteers was created by Shah ʿAbbās "a few years ago" on the advice of Sir Anthony Sherley.[1] Purchas, who personally knew Robert Sherley, also wrote enthusiastically (1624): "The prevailing Persian hath learned Sherleian arts of war, and he which before knew not the use of ordnance, has now 500 pieces of brass and 6000 musketeers; so that they which at hand with the sword were before dreadful to the Turcs, now also in remoter blows and sulphurian arts are grown terrible."

On the other hand, the persons of Sir Anthony's immediate entourage do not seem to connect the development of "sulphurian arts" in Persia with their master's stay in the Shah's dominions during the rather short period of six months.

Sir Anthony's interpreter Angelo, who left Persia with him, declared in Rome (28.xi.1599) that Shah ʿAbbās could mobilise up to 100,000 horse armed with bows, arrows and scimitars. "In addition he has 50,000 arquebusiers, also armed with scimitars. … At one time he did not use arquebusiers, but now he delights in them and takes great care to procure them; he also has some cannon, having captured many pieces from the Tartars; moreover there is no lack of masters to manufacture new ones, these masters have turned against the Turk and have come to serve the King." According to Sir Anthony's major-domo, who wrote in French (A. Pinçon?): "Infantry is held (in Persia) in poor esteem. Quite recently they have acquired some arquebuses." Particularly frank is the testimony of G. Mainwaring, another of Sir Anthony's companions: "(The Persians) are very expert in their pieces or muskets; for although there are some which have written now of late that they had not the use of pieces until our coming into the country, this much must I write to their praise, that I did never see better barrels of muskets than I did see there; and the King hath, hard by his court at Aspahane, above two hundred men at work, only making of pieces, bows and arrows, swords and targets."[2]

Sir D. Ross is non-committal about Sir Anthony's achievements, *ibid*., p. 20, but, apart from the testimony just quoted, we have direct indications that the use of fire-arms was known in Persia long before Shah ʿAbbas. Thus the *Aḥṣan al-tavārīkh*, 368, records the use of guns and muskets (*tūp-u-tufang*) by Shah Tahmāsp's ghāzīs during the siege of Arjīsh in 959/1552. Still more curious is the description of Persian arms given by d'Alessandri (towards A.D. 1571). Apart from swords and lances, he refers to arquebuses "which all the soldiers can use." He confirms that Persian arms "are superior and better tempered than those of any

1 P. 759: "milizia moderna ed inventata da questo re, non molti anni fà a persuasione di don Antonio Serley inglese chi gliela mise in considerazione."

2 Sir E. D. Ross, *Sir A. Sherley and his Persian Adventure*, 1933, pp. 29, 163, 222.

other nation" and then proceeds: "the barrels of the arquebuses are generally 6 spans long, and carry a ball less than 3 ounces in weight. They use them with such facility that it does not hinder them in drawing their bows, nor in handling their swords, keeping the latter hung at their saddle-bows till occasion requires them. The arquebus then is put away behind the back, so that one weapon does not impede the use of another." Very interesting too is Alessandri's indication that the Ottoman prince Bāyazīd who sought refuge with Tahmāsp in 966/1559 brought with him 30 pieces of artillery.[1]

Consequently the percolation of fire-arms into Persia began long before Shah 'Abbās, whose reform consisted in the creation of special corps recruited among entirely new classes. This was a task of considerable magnitude which grew out of the social and political evolution of Persia and hardly out of occasional promptings from outside.

Owing chiefly to della Valle, pp. 476, 759–68, and Chardin, V, 292–332,[2] we possess a good picture of the military organisation under Shah 'Abbās and his successors. In the seventeenth century the army consisted of two main categories of troops:

A. The "State" troops were a survival of previous times and were paid in assignments on lands administered by the governors under the Dīvān-i mamālik. They were of two categories:

(a) A regular militia (mounted?) was maintained by the governors on the spot. Our source calls them *mulāzimān*, "attendants," and gives a detailed list of their numbers and distribution, v.i., p. 182. The total given is 58,289.

(b) Another standing corps of troops were the *qurchi*,[3] who represented the old tribal cavalry. They looked like walking arsenals, armed as they were with bows, lances, swords, daggers and battle-axes, and with shields as a protective weapon.The original headdress of these doughty Turcoman warriors, after which they were called *qïzïl-bash*, "Red-heads," was a red cap instituted by Shah Ismā'īl's father for his adherents.[4] But on expeditions they wore helmets (?) with mail protectors down their cheeks.[5] Long moustache was a characteristic feature of the qurchis.

From the fact that in 1586 30,000 Qizil-bash were fighting the Turks in Tabriz, G. B. Vechietti inferred that the Persians might mobilize up to 60,000 Qizil-bash

1 *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 411, mentions only *tufang*, "muskets."

2 Cf. also Du Mans, 154–9, and Kaempfer, 70–8.

3 The true pronunciation must have been *qorchi*, in Mongolian, "an archer," from qor, "a quiver," see Poppe, *Muqaddimat al-adab*, Leningrad, 1938, p. 445. Cf. della Valle, 766: *corci*.

4 This *tāj* of red velvet was shaped like a small kettle narrowing downwards; its sides formed twelve scallops in memory of the Twelve Imams; in the centre of its top there was a point somewhat similar to a chess pawn, see Chardin, v, 300, and Atlas, pl. xxix; Kaempfer, 71, and plate to face p. 36 (right bottom corner).

5 Chardin, v, 300: "Le pot en tête, avec des pièces de maille qui tombent sur les joues," see a Persian miniature in *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1921, to face p. 421, where Shāh 'Abbās and his dignitaries wear the *tāj*, while the soldiers returning from an expedition against the Uzbeks wear the helmet.

troops, see *Eng. Hist. Review*, 1892, p. 318.

In 1617–23 della Valle counted 70,000 Qizil-bash of whom 50,000 were paid and 20,000 had no pay. Some of the first category were serving under the governors, while 12,000, called *qorchi*, and commanded by the Shah's relative *Isā khan* (?) beg Shaykhāvand formed a corps of "praetorians." According to Chardin the *qurchis* were originally 60–80,000, but Shah ʿAbbās reduced their number to 30,000[1] and re-armed several regiments with muskets to serve as mounted infantry (*sic*), *ibid*., V, 302.

B. The new troops raised by Shah ʿAbbās and paid "by the King," i.e., apparently from the Khāṣṣa (v.s.) were of three kinds:

(c) The *tufangchi*, "musketeers," were the mounted infantry armed with muskets, swords and daggers. They were recruited among sturdy peasants and consequently represented the pure Iranian element of the army. According to della Valle, 759, the corps of archibugieri was created not a long time before 1619. In the beginning they were recruited locally and were placed under their centurions (*yūz-bāshī*), but in addition to the five corps already mentioned there existed in Chardin's time two smaller corps: later we hear of the existence of a *tufangchi-bāshī*. They were meant to be infantry but Shah ʿAbbās gradually provided them with horses. Della Valle and Chardin agree on their numbers being 12,000.

(d) The *qullar*, "slaves" (f. 12b: *ghulāmān-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*) were armed like the qurchis, but instead of the lance had a musket. This cavalry corps was recruited among the natives of northern countries (Georgia, Caucasus, and even Muscovy), either brought to Persia at an early age, or born of parents established in Persia. Being mostly of Christian origin, they were converted to Islam in the first or second generation. According to della Valle there were 30,000 quls, but of these only 15,000 were soldiers. Chardin puts their number at 10,000. He says that the name *qul* did not connote any diminished degree of freedom[2] in comparison with the other troops, and adds that Shah ʿAbbās, who was particularly fond of this picked corps, called them his "mounted janissaries."

(e) Although the *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, p. 368, records the use of guns and muskets (*tūp-u-tufang*) by the ghāzis of Shah Tahmāsp as early as 959/1552, Artillery was not a popular arm in Persia. Minadoi (who wrote in 1588) remarks that the Persians "have not yet adopted the use (of artillery), more on account of their obstinate belief that it is a shame to use such cruel engines against men than because of their inability to fabricate them or their deficiency in material to cast them." During the Balkh campaign in 1011/1603 Shah ʿAbbas was accompanied by 300 cannon (*tūp-u-darbzan*) and 10,000 musketeers, *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 427–8. However, della Valle states, p. 476, that the Persians chiefly used the ordnance captured from enemies, and Figueroa, 263, adds that Persian artillery was manipulated by

1 Kaempfer, 71: hodie vix 15.000 vel 20.000.

2 In our source *ghulām* is used as an equivalent of *qul* (*qullar*), cf. §57. On the contingents from which the *qullar* were principally recruited, v.i., f. 32b. The expression *yūz-dah* ("hundreds" and "tens") seems to refer to the smaller subdivisions of the qullar corps.

Europeans "and particularly by the Portuguese." All the travellers agree that the chief Persian objection to artillery was that the guns hampered the swift evolutions of their cavalry.

According to Chardin, the gunners were at first 12,000 strong, but since the loss of Baghdad in 1048/1638 their contingents were diminished and finally ʿAbbās II abolished the corps. When its commander died in 1655, no successor to him was appointed. The fact is unprecedented in military annals,[1] but in the last years of the Safavid dominion the Artillery must have been restored in its rights for it is mentioned as a part of several expeditions sent to Khorasan under Shah Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, see *Z.T.*, ff. 104b2, 206b2.

C. In addition to the five corps already mentioned there existed in Chardin's time two smaller corps:

(f) The 200 Sufi were the life-guards of the Shah. They belonged to the special Safavid order (cf. §19) and were quartered in the alley leading from the Ala-qapï gate towards the King's apartments, close to the *tauḥīd-khāna*, v.i., p. 141. They wore special caps ("bonnets de souahy"?)[2] and were recognisable by their aweinspiring moustaches sticking out at right angles from their faces, Kaempfer, pl. *ad* p. 175, No. 2. They were armed each with a sword, a dagger and an axe carried on the shoulder.

(g) The 600 *jazāʾirī* guards were raised for the first time under ʿAbbās II in 1654. They wore pointed caps of cloth ("semblables à des capuchons") and broad sashes of red cloth, with silver clasps, and were armed with swords, daggers and muskets of particularly large calibre, all inlaid with silver. According to Chardin, the jazāʾirīs were under the orders of the Tufangchi-aghasi ("le colonel-général des mousquetaires") but our f. 61a suggests some connection of the jazāʾirīs with the ghulāms.[3] As the jazāʾirīs were permanently on guard at the Gate of the palace, they were called *keshikchi*, "watchmen" (from Mong. *keshik*, "a part > a watch").[4]

To conclude our survey we have to mention three other categories of auxiliary troops of which passing mentions are found in our text.

(h) The Ghāzīs of the Pāzūkī tribe (f. 129a) formed a category of "militant"

1 In fact artillery was long a neglected arm in the English army. Speaking of the famous ordinance of 15 Feb., 1645, by which a regular and standing army was created, Hon. J. W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, 2nd ed., 1910, I, 216, remarks: "the truth seems to be that the English were behind the times in respect of field artillery; and indeed we hear little of guns, except siege-cannon, during the whole period of the Civil War. English military writers of the period rarely make much of artillery in a pitched battle." For the scanty information on the previous periods see *ibid.*, I, 112, 119, 122–3, 171.

2 Apparently **souphy* = *ṣūfī*.

3 Kaempfer, 74, counts 2000 jazāʾirīs and says that they are under the exclusive command of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī, "supremus aulae Mareschallus," cf. *ibid.*, 207. This last statement agrees with Du Mans, 25.

4 These *keshikchi* must be distinguished from the noblemen sleeping in the Keshik-khāna (note ad §9). The *hamīsha-keshik*, mentioned under the Musketeers and Artillery Department, ff. 63b and 65a, may have been the members of these two corps seconded to the King's gate, but the exact meaning of the term is still doubtful. In 1720, 3000 *ghulām-i habashī* (?) *hamīsha keshīk* accompanied Ismāʿīl Khānazād on his expedition to Mashhad and received daily keep (*jīra*), see *Z.T.*, 206a2.

supporters of the dynasty, similar to the "ṣūfīs" (f). The original homes of these Kurds were near Kīghī and Alāshkert in the region to the north of the lake of Van. Sharaf al-dīn, I, 328–334, first says that they had "no definite religion," and then deprecates their heresy (*rafḍ-va-ilḥād*), i.e., some extremist variation of the Shīʿa. The history of the Pāzūkī, torn between Turkey and Persia, is highly involved. The tribe became scattered in many regions: remnants of it are now found in the neighbourhood of Tehran.[1] The Kurdish Pāzūkī and Kalhur were the opposite numbers of the Turcoman Shāhī-sevans (Qīzīl-bash). They were certainly not a large corps for in the budget they stand for 2.777 tomans as compared with 25.572 of the qurchis and 18.261 of the ghulāms.

(i) (k) The terms *cherīk* and *yāsāqi* (f. 66b) are both of Mongolian origin. Under the Qājārs, the cherīk were local levies or militia,[2] and there is every probability that such was the case in Safavid times too. The equivalent of *cherīk* in Arabic is *ḥashar*. The other term *yāsāqī*[3] occurs also in the chapter on Revenue under the heading: "revenue in kind" (f. 123b), as well as in the chapter on Expenditure (f. 127b). There were 500 yāsāqī men of the Kurdish tribe Kalhur, all of whom seem to have been allotted to the amirs (f. 128a). These Shīʿa Kurds were a class of auxiliary troops serving, as it seems, with their own equipment, for otherwise they would not have been treated as an "asset" in the budget (f. 123b). The *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 466, says that in 1013/1604 Shāh ʿAbbās I ordered the "white-beards" to prepare lists (*tafṣīl*) of the families of their tribes, so that each category (*ṭabaqa*) having means should equip (*saranjām*) yāsāqī men to join the Royal army, "as religious zeal required it." *Ibid*., 468, the author says that the troops (*ʿasākir*) of Khorasan were ordered to come on yāsāq to Āzarbāyjān (*mutavajjih-i yāsāq-i Āzarbāyjān*). In Sultān-Husayn's farmān of 1113/1702, the grantee of a soyūrghāl is requested to provide "seven men all ready (*safarkash*) to the Shah's call and service (*ba-jār-va-yāsāq-i shāhī*)".[4] It appears from our source, f. 66b, that the "rolls" of the yāsāqīs had to be sealed by the Lashkar-nivīs.[5]

As pointed out by della Valle, 767, the number of troops often increased or decreased: Shāh ʿAbbās did not like paying superfluous staff; moreover, in the wars of the earlier part of the reign losses in men were considerable. All told, the

1 Near Khānābād, see Brugsch, *Die Reise d. K. Preussischen Gesandtschaft*, 1863, I, 337. Masʿūd Geyhān, in his *Joghrāfiyā-yi mufassal*, II, 111, counts 100 families of Pāzūki near Khānābād.

2 Cherīk<Mongolian *tserig*, "a warrior," but in Persian texts *cherīk* means "army in general," cf. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn. 306 and *passim*. In Juvaynī, II, 197: *cherīk-i-piyāda*, "the cherīk serving on foot" obviously refers to non-Mongol elements.

3 *Yasaq* (= *yasa*) means "order, law, tribute" In Russian Ясак refers to the tribute in furs paid by Siberian tribes.

4 See Minorsky, *A soyurghal*, p. 959. Cf. also, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, III/3, 237, where Uzun-Ḥasan dismisses the yāsāqīs of Khorasan and the Turcomans of Āzarbāyjān, who had been with the Timurid Abū-Saʿīd.

5 These levies could not be identical with the corps of *yasaqchi*, whose business, according to della Valle, 766, was to regulate the march of the army and to guard the roads; their insignia were arrows, stuck in their turbans, their chief wearing a golden arrow.

army had 70–80,000 combatants, of whom 40–50,000 could be actually used on a campaign. From the total of 70,000, della Valle seems to exclude some 30,000 horse stationed on the frontiers. Thus the number of the military drawing pay rises to 100,000 and, with the retainers and followers (of whom the noblemen kept 50–100), the grand total would reach 200–300,000.[1]

According to Chardin, V, 314, the total of the army left by ʿAbbās I was 120,000 men, among whom the three new corps stood for 50,000, whereas the provincial troops amounted to 70,000, to say nothing of the King's guards ("la maison du roi") numbering *circa* 10.000.[2] The decadence began under ʿAbbās II and the effort to uphold the efficiency of the army in the beginning of Sulaymān's reign was only short-lived: the soldiers were forgetting their business and considered their pay as a gratuity without a counterpart.

If we combine the total of provincial troops as given in the *T.M.* with the strength of the other contingents as indicated in Chardin, we shall obtain the following result:

(a)	59,496
(b)	30,000
(c)	12,000
(d)	10,000
(e)	abolished
(f)	200
(g)	600
	112,296

but most of these troops existed only on paper. During a review held in 1660 ʿAbbās II discovered that the same arms, horses and men passed before him 10–12 times, Chardin, V, 315, 323. Kaempfer, 73, evaluated the number of troops at 90,000 with a caustic reserve "qui, si in armis non prostant, in chartis tarnen et catalogis rationum inveniuntur."

Our source refers only *en passant* (f. 8b) to the commander-in-chief of the army (*sipah-sālār*) and from Chardin, V, 322, we learn in fact that this high post, usually held by the governor of Media, i.e., Āzarbāyjān, was abolished and, whenever a war broke out, only a *sardār* was nominated ad hoc and for the time being.[3]

The officers in the various categories of troops had the Turkish titles of *min-bashi* "master of a thousand," *yüz-bashi* "master of a hundred," and *on-bashi* "master of ten men." In the Artillery department (§14) are mentioned *jārchis* and

1 Sir Thomas Herbert, ed. 1665, p. 320, gives an exaggerated estimate of "300,000 horse and 70,000 foot or Musquetoons," but he adds that "such force (the Shah) can readily advance, but seldom exceeds 50,000." His source, as shown by Sir W. Foster, is de Laet.

2 The *Z.T.*, 206a2, mentions a *qoshūn-i rikābī* sent on an expedition to Khorasan. This corps apparently corresponded to that "standing army which (Uzun Ḥasan) always kept as a guard about his person," and to which C. Zeno gives in Italian the curious name "porta," see Minorsky, *Review*, p. 169.

3 It is to be hoped that some scholar will publish the text of B.M. Add. 7655, which contains a detailed story of the Georgian general Rustam-khan, who combined the titles of sipahsālār and beglarbegi of Āzarbāyjān (1044–53/1634–42), cf. *Khuld-i barīn*, p. 290, and Olearinus, 274.

their chief called *jārchi-bāshī*. *Jarchi* means in Turkish "a herald, a public crier, an announcer." Possibly the jarchis were a kind of liaison officers between the commander and the men. In a document of Aq-qoyunlu times,[1] jarchis "shouted" the orders to the troops. The correspondence and accountancy were entrusted to professional vazirs and mustaufis, §55 to §61.[2]

1 Minorsky, *Review*, 154, 160.

2 On *yasāvulān-i qūr*, v.i., p. 117.

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§154. Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the mashʿal-khāna
§155. Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the zargar-khāna
§156. Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the misgar-khāna
§157. Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the ābdār-khāna
§158. Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the library
§159. Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the kitchen
§160. Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the stables
§161. Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the qahva-khāna
§162. Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the naqqāsh-khāna
§163. Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the ʿattār-khāna
§164. Ṣarrāf-bāshī of the Royal Treasury

PART II: Salaries and Contingents of Troops of the "Frontier Amīrs" 107a

1. Āzarbāyjān
   (a) Tabrīz
   (b) Chukhūr-i Saʿd
   (c) Qarā-bāgh
   (d) Shīrvān
2. Khorāsān
   (a) Herat
   (b) Mashhad
   (c) Qandahār
   (d) Marv
3. Astarābād
4. Dār al-marz
5. Kirmān
6. ʿIrāq
7. Kurdistān
8. Fārs

PART III: Budget of Iran 123a

(a) Revenue (dīvān and khāṣṣa):
Kirmān
Khūzistān
ʿIrāq
Fārs
Āzarbāyjān
Gīlān
Shīrvān

(b) Expenditure (dīvān and khāṣṣa):
Tiyūl and hama-sāla
Taḥvīl
Soyūrghāl, etc.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

A MEMORIAL FOR KINGS

IN THE NAME OF GOD, MERCIFUL, CLEMENT

Praise be to God who hath guided us to the rules of righteousness and led us to the firm foundations (*ḍawābiṭ*) of fortitude and prayer. And peace be on the most honoured of the creatures and the best of the inhabitants of Heaven and Earth, namely, on Muḥammad, [as well as] his family and his companions through whose sanctity (*muwālāt*) prayers are accepted (**2a**) and through whose grace demands are responded to.

But to proceed: the present is an epitome called "A Memorial for Kings," and containing the regulations (*dastūr al-ʿamal*) of the service of each one of the officials (*arbāb-i manāsib*) of the Exalted Court (*dargāh-i muʿalā*) as practised in the time of the Ṣafavī monarchs (*salāṭīn*). By the supreme order (*al-amr al-aʿlā*) they are here submitted briefly and hurriedly. They consist of four [read: five!] chapters (*bāb*) and a Conclusion.

CHAPTER I

ON THE FUNCTIONS OF THE MULLĀ-BĀSHĪ AND [OTHER] SHARĪʿAT AUTHORITIES IN THE CAPITAL, IṢFAHĀN, IN FIVE PARAGRAPHS (*FAṢL*)

§1. The Mullā-bāshī[1] is the head (*sarkarda*) of all the mullās. In earlier times of the Safavī monarchs this title (**2b**) [belonged to] no definite charge but usually the most learned of the scholars (*fuḍalā*) of the time [was] virtually the Mullā-bāshī and, at the Royal assemblies (*majlis*), had a definite place near the throne, none of the scholars and sayyids sitting nearer than he in the King's presence. [The said distinguished scholar] did not interfere in any affairs except by soliciting pensions (*vaẓīfa*) for students and men of merit, by removing oppression from the oppressed, by interceding for the guilty, by investigating problems of the Sacred Law and by giving consultations (*taʿlīm*) in law-suits and [other] affairs [ruled by] the Sharīʿat. Towards the end of Shāh Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's time a scholar Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir by name,[2] although in learning (**3a**) he fell short of his contemporary Āqā-Jamāl,[3] rose to the rank of Mullā-bashī, and in view of

1 Henceforth we omit in translation the stereotype words: "On the functions of … His duty is …"

2 The famous restorer of the Shiʿa orthodoxy Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī died in 1110/1699 (chronogram: *ḥuznun wa ghammun*).

3 See Ccommentary.

his friendly relations (*muṣāḥabat*) with the King founded the madrasa of Chahār-Bāgh and became mudarris in it. He also operated (*dād-u-sitad*) with the lawful (*ḥalāl*) sums and the King used to send to him the sums offered as pious contributions (*birr*) or as alms, in order that he should distribute them among deserving people. After [M. Bāqir's] death, one called Mullā Muḥammad Ḥusayn[1] became the Mullā-bashi and, apart from teaching in the aforesaid madrasa, started many practices (*umūr*) which [later?] Mullā-bashis were in the habit of perpetrating (*murtakib*).

§2. The Ṣadr-i khāṣṣa va ʿāmma. The prerogatives of the charge entrusted (*muṭlaq*) to the Ṣadr (**3b**) are briefly as follows: Appointment of Islamic judges (*ḥākim-i sharʿ*) and managers of the Endowments of the class *tafvīḍī*,[2] and the leadership (*rīsh-safīdī*) of all the [persons called] sayyid, ʿulamā, mudarris, shaykh al-Islām, pīsh-namāz, qāḍī, mutavallī, Ḥāfiẓ and of the rest of the servants of sacred tombs, schools, mosques and shrines (*biqāʿ al-khayr*). Under him are the vazirs, the mushrifs and the mustaufīs (§72) of the Endowments, with the rest of the lower staff (*ʿamala*) of that department (*sarkār*), such as scribes, washers of the dead and grave-diggers. Without the presence of the Ṣadr-i aʿẓam (*ṣudūr-i ʿiẓām*),[3] the ʿalī-jāh Dīvān-begī can not try the four capital offences (*dīvān-i aḥdāth-i arbaʿa*), namely, murder, rape (*izāla-yi bikr*), breaking of teeth and blinding; nor do the other. Sharīʿat judges interfere with the [trial] of the said offences (**4a**). The Sharīʿat affairs of the *sarkār-i fayḍ-āthār*[4] belong exclusively to [the competence] of the Ṣadr-i khāṣṣa and the Ṣadr-i mamālik does not interfere with them. The special functions of each one [of the ṣadrs] are briefly as follows. On Saturdays and Sundays the ʿāli-jāh Ṣadr-i Khāṣṣa, jointly with the Dīvān-begī, sits at trials in the Keshik-khāna of the ʿĀlī-qāpū.[5] In the Maḥāll[6] of Īrān, the Ṣadr-i Khāṣṣa appoints the Sharīʿat judges of Yezd, Abarqūh, Nāyīn, Ardistān, Qūmisha, Natanz, Maḥallāt, Dilijān, Khwānsār, Burūrūd (= Burburūd, or Burūjird?), Firaydan, Rār, Mizdaj, Kiyār, Jāpalāq (spelt: Chāplaq), Jurfādaqān (= Gulpāyagān), Kamara, Farāhān, Kāshān, Sāva, Māzandarān, Astarābād (**4b**), Girāylī, Ḥājjilar, Kabūd-jāma; in the enumerated vilāyats the affairs appertaining to the Ṣadr-i Khāṣṣa's competence used to be (*mīshuda-and*) looked into by the Ṣadr's deputy (*naʾib al-ṣadāra*) and other representatives (*mubāshinn*). [On the other hand] the ʿālī-jāh Ṣadr-i Mamālik has the power to appoint the

1 See Commentary.

2 Appointed by personal preference.

3 I.e. the Ṣadr-i khāṣṣa? V.i., f. 4a.

4 Cf. §72, §82 and v.i., p. 163.

5 This was the main entrance to the Palace from the Great Maydan. To judge by the name of a similar gate existing in Tabriz, the original form must have been *ala-qapu*, in Turkish "a particoloured, or gaily painted gate," cf. Sanson, 56: *Alla-Kapi*, wrongly explained as "*la porte de Dieu*." However, *ʿālī-qapu* "Exalted Porte," as confirmed by Chardin's mistaken interpretation, IX, 226: "*porte d'Aly*," was a common sublimation of the meaning. See §31.

6 Maḥāll seems to be the technical term for the provinces under the Royal Khāṣṣa and especially those lying in the neighbourhood of the capital. Cf. ff. 72a, 92b.

Sharīʿat judges and the managers of such Endowments as sacred tombs, schools, mosques, etc., in the whole of the God-protected Provinces (*mamālik*), namely, in Āzarbayjān, Fārs, ʿIrāq, Khorāsān, except in the localities enumerated under the Ṣadr-i Khāṣṣa's name. At some periods of the Ṣafavī monarchs, the office of the Ṣadr-i Khāṣṣa and ʿĀmma (**5a**) was entrusted to one single person. Briefly speaking the appointment and dismissal of the managers of the Endowments, if the latter are [of the class] *tafvīḍī*, belongs to the Ṣadrs, *khāṣṣ* and *ʿāmma*; if [however] they are [of the class] *sharʿī*, neither the Sharīʿat judges, nor the Ṣadrs have any right of interference with them, but whomever the founder of an endowment has legally (*sharʿan*) appointed manager (*mutavallī*) and proxy (*ṣāḥib ikhtiyār*), he will be the manager, and changing him is contrary to the sacred and immaculate (*batūl*) Sharīʿat.

§3. The Qāḍī of the Capital, Iṣfahān. The rule was such that, except on Fridays, he stayed at his house, giving decisions (*tashkhīṣ*) on Shariʿat actions brought up by people, in conformity with the Glorious Law (**5b**) and the Splendid Creed (*Sharīʿat-i gharrā va-millat-i bayḍā*). Since the time of Shaykh Jaʿfar Qāḍī, [the practice has been] that the conservation of the property of the absent and orphans was entrusted to whomever the Qāḍī [chose] and, in any action on which the Qāḍī has given a written decision according to the Sharīʿat, the civil authorities (*dīvānīyān*) carry out the decision and do justice to the right person.

§4. The Shaykh al-Islām of the capital, Iṣfahān. The said [official], at his own house, tried the Sharīʿat actions, ordering what was in conformity with the law (*maʿrūf*) and forbidding what was prohibited. In his presence divorces were proclaimed according to the Sharīʿat; conservation of the property of the absent and orphans mostly fell to the Shaykh al-Islām, but later (*baʿd az ān*) was entrusted to the qāḍīs.

§5. (**6a**). The Qāḍī-ʿaskar. In olden days he sat at the Dīvān-begī's keshīk-khāna and gave decisions according to the Sharīʿat in affairs concerning the victorious army, but since the Ṣadr was appointed in Isfahān and it was established that the Dīvān-begī in the Ṣadr's presence should look into the Sharīʿat litigation of God's slaves, the comings of the Qāḍī-ʿaskar to the keshīk-khāna have been abandoned. Towards the end of the Ṣafavī dynasty, the business of the Qāḍī-ʿaskar was limited to the following functions: the military authorities (*ʿasākir*) used to submit to the Qāḍī-ʿaskar's seal the copies of raqams for their salary (*savād-i arqām-i tankhwāh-i mavājib*) which [for collecting the amount] were sent to the provinces (*mamālik-i maḥrūsa*), and so long as the said copies of the raqams belonging to the military (*qoshūn*) (**6b**) were not sealed by the Qāḍī-ʿaskar the beglarbegīs and provincial governors did not give them credit and pay the amount.[1]

1 Somewhat connected with spiritual activities is also §19.

CHAPTER II

THE GREAT AMIRS ENJOYING THE TITLE OF *ʿĀLĪ-JĀH*

This Chapter consists of an introduction and 14 paragraphs.

Introduction

The ranks (*tafḍīl*) of the Persian amīrs are in principle (*muṭlaqan*) of two categories:

A. To the first belong the amīrs other than those residing at court (*daulat-khāna*); they are called "amīrs of the frontiers" (or "marches," *sarḥadd*). This category is subdivided into four classes, viz. vālī, beglarbegī, khān, sulṭān. From the point of view of rank (**7a**) and importance, the vālīs are higher than the beglarbegīs, the latter higher than the khāns, and the latter higher than the sulṭāns. On every frontier which is the residence of a beglarbegī, the governors in the neighbourhood of his province (*mamlakat*) are subordinates and assistants (*qol-begī*)[1] of the beglarbegī of the said region; on the latter's report they are appointed and dismissed. In the same way the sulṭāns of every frontier obey the khāns of their frontier. The vālis in the [State] provinces (*mamālik*) of Iran are four, whose names follow in the order of their importance and dignity (*sharaf*). The first is the vālī of ʿArabistān, who is higher and more honoured than his colleagues, on account of his belonging to a sayyid family, his valour and the number of his tribes (*īl-va-lashīrat*). (**7b**) After him comes the vālī of Luristān-i Faylī who, on account of being a Muslim is more honoured than the vālī of Georgia. The parts of Georgia (*Gurjistānāt*) belonging to Iran are Kartlia (*Kārtil*), Kakhetia (*Kākhit*) and Tiflīs. After the vālī of Georgia comes the vālī of Kurdistan whose residence is at Senanduj. After him comes the ruler of the Bakhtiyārī tribe who in former days enjoyed great esteem and respect.

There are 13 beglarbegīs in Iran, namely, those of 1. Qandahār, 2. Shīrvān, 3. Harāt, 4. Āzarbayjān, 5. Chukhūr-i Saʿd, 6. Qarabāgh and Ganja, 7. Astarābād, 8. Kūh-Gīlūya, (**8a**) 9. Kirmān 10. Marv-i Shāh-i jahān [*sic*], 11. Qalamrau-i ʿAlī Shakar, 12. Mashhad, the Sacred and Exalted, 13, The capital (*dār al-salṭana*), Qazvīn.

B. The second category are the amīrs belonging to the gate of the palace (*dar-i daulat-kkāna-yi mubāraka*), who all appear at the Shah's court and of whom each is honoured with a special charge. The object of the present treatise (*risāla*) is to define (*thabt*) the specific functions of every one of them and of the other officials (*arbāb-i manāṣib*) of Isfahān. Be it known that of the amīrs residing at the court, four[2] are called "Pillars (*arkān*) of the Mighty State," namely:

1 Chardin, V, 256, calls the khans under the orders of beglarbegi *ghulām-begi*, and, as *ghulām* = *qul*, we might read *qul-begi*, "chief of the slaves, servitors." However, our reading *qol-begi*, "chief of a wing" (cf. Ottoman *qol-ordu*, " the wing of an army corps") is confirmed by Sanson, 45: "*col-beguis, c.-à-d. kans de bras, ou d'appui.*"

2 But see §6.

1. Qūrchī-bāshī, 2. Qullar-āqāsī, 3. Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī, 4. Tufangchī-āqāsī.

These four persons, together with the Grand Vazīr, the Dīvān-begī (**8b**) and the Vāqiʿa-nivīs, making a total of seven persons, had since early times constituted the body of "council amirs" (*umarā-yi jānqī*), but towards the end [of the reign] of Shah Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, the Nāẓir, the Mustaufī al-mamālik and the Amīr-shikār-bāshī took part in some assemblies (*majmaʿ*). And if the council (*jānqī*) meets for the purpose of sending the Sipah-sālār to some place on the frontiers (*aṭrāf*), his presence at the council is a necessary condition.

§6. The ʿālī-jāh Grand Vazir of the Supreme Divan (having the title of) Iʿtimād al-daula of Iran, is the most important of the Pillars of State and of all the amirs of the court and provinces (*vilāyāt*) of the God-protected State (*mamālik*?). (**9a**) Without his taʿlīqa[1] no operation is possible with any Divan revenues (*māliyāt-i dīvān*) or with the sums sent to the Treasury and other Buyūtāt (*vujūhāt-i infādhī-yi khazāna*[2] *va ghayra-yi* (sic) *buyūtāt*) from the whole of the provinces of Iran or from the capital, Isfahan. The raqams ("letters patent") for the appointment to charges and the verso (*ḍimn*, "inside"?) of all the raqams [in general] must of necessity bear the seal of the Grand Vazir, and secondly the Royal seal called *mihr-āthār* (v.i., §26). The Vazīr must display extreme care in developing (*taufīr*) and increasing the Divan revenue, and in collecting (*ḍabt*) all the sums coming from the [State] Provinces (*mamālik*) and other sendings (*infādiyāt*, sic). If anyone neglects or transgresses either the Law representing Right and Reason,[3] or the customs established by long practice (*mustamarra*), or the usages of the realm (*mamlakat*), or the rules of righteousness, he must be prevented (*mamnūʿ*) from so doing, and if the amirs and Pillars of State (**9b**) commit unlawful acts, in spite of the Grand Vazir's orders and interdictions and in disregard of them, the Grand Vazir submits the matter to the throne and carries out whatever the King's sacred order may be. And as regards Divan officials (*mulāzimān*), [even] though by word of mouth the order (*raqam bil-mushafaha*) of their appointment has been[4] given, and [even] though the senior officer (*rīsh-safīd*, "white beard") of the respective category (*ṭabaqa*) has presented his report on it, so long as the Grand Vazir's *taʿliqa* has not arrived, the raqam of appointment and employment (*khidmat va mulāzamat*) is not issued. If a raqam is written on the strength of a memorandum (*risāla*) of one of the muqarrabs (v.i., Ch. III, A*b*), so long as its verso[5] has not been sealed by the Grand Vazir, it cannot be sealed by the Royal *mihr-āthār* seal. As regards petty commissions (*khidamāt*), [such as] appointments (*taʿyīn*) of scribes in the Royal Secretariat and the Private Household (*daftar-khāna-yi humāyūn va khāṣṣa*), (**10a**), or of workers (*ʿamala*)

1 Chardin, V, 339: "contre-scel."

2 In the MS. *infādhī* is usually spelt *infādī*.

3 I.e. the Islamic Law. What follows refers to Common and Customary Law.

4 The negation (*na-shuda*) in this passage seems to be a mistake for **shuda*. The meaning is clear. See a similar passage on f. 25a.

5 *Ḍimn-i raqam*, literally "inside."

in the Royal workshops (*buyūtāt-i maʿmūra*) which are not worth being submitted to the King, the raqam of employment and appointment is issued on the strength (*az qarār*) of a *taʿlīqcha*[1] of the Grand Vazir, following (*bar ṭibq*) the approval (*tajvīz*) by the ʿālī-jāhs Mustaufī al-mamālik and Nāẓir-i buyūtāt, and the muqarrab al-khāqān Mustaufī-yi Khāṣṣa,[2] and the matter need not be reported to the King.

The accountancy papers (*nuskhajāt-i muḥāsabāt*) of the Divan agents and payers (*muʿaddiyān-i ḥisāb*) throughout the provinces (*vilāyāt*) [referring to ?] the beglarbegis, governors, sulṭāns, vazīrs, taḥvīldārs of higher and lower class (*kull va juzʾ*), stewards, collectors (*mutasaddiyān va ḍābitān*), etc., are filed (*daftarī*) only on receipt of the Grand Vazir's *taʿlīq*, after which the exalted Mustaufī (**10b**) closes the account and delivers a final discharge (*muḥāsaba mushakhkhaṣṣ va mufāṣā ḥisāb*).[3]

If for some creditable (*ḥisābi*) reasons a diminution (*nuqṣān va kasr*) appears in the Divan revenue and, in the Grand Vazir's presence, the tax-payers (*muʿaddiyān-i ḥisābiya*) report [the facts] and show that they merit attention and endorsement (*muvajjah va maḥkūm bihi numāyand*), then, in order to solicit the blessings of the subjects and to secure their tranquility and the prosperity of the realm (*mamlakat*), the collection of the former sum (*jamʿ-i qadīm*) is considered an injustice, and the acknowledgment of deficit a reasonable procedure, and a *taʿliqa* of alleviation (*takhfīf*) is issued. The secretaries (*kuttāb*) of the Secretariat of the Supreme Dīvān and [of that?] of the Royal Khāṣṣa (*daftar-khānā-yi dīvān-i aʿlā va khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*) act on the strength of the said document and make a corresponding (*ba-hamān sharḥ*) entry in the books of standing enactments (*daftar-i khulūd*)[4] writing off the sum as a deficit (*ba-nuqṣān ʿamal mīnumāyand*).

The guard-house (*keshīk-khāna*) at the Daulat gate was especially built for the Divan (**11a**) of the Grand Vazir to enable all the people to report to him what important (*vājib al-ʿarḍ*) matters they had. The divan accountancy (*nuskhajāt-i dīvānī*), vouchers for office expenditure (*asnād-i kharj-i daftarī*), final discharges (*mufāsā*) of the heads of departments (*ṣāḥib-jamʿān*), keepers (*taḥvīldārān*), collectors (*taḥṣīldārān*) and the taʿlīqas for higher and lower appointments are presented to the seal of the Grand Vazir, after which, what he has ordained (*muqarrar*) is carried out.

All the amirs sit beside one another in accordance with their rank and in con-

1 Mis-spelt in the MS.

2 Probably the Mustaufī-yi khāṣṣa's signature accompanied that of the Nāẓīr, and in the "Divan" appointments the Mustaufī-yi mamālik counter-signed the recommendation of the senior officer of the respective Dt., cf. §7, etc.

3 *Mufāṣā* appears to be a Persian corruption of *muṣāfāt*.

4 This term occurs in Qāsim b. Jahāngīr's farmān, cf. Minorsky, *Soyūrghāl*, p. 930, line 15: *raqam-i īn ʿaṭiya-rā dar dafātir-i khulūd muthabbat gardanīda*, and seems to refer to some special register for "lasting" and final decisions. In this connection cf. the term *mukhallad* used *ibid*., line 14, and in Sulṭān Yaʿqūb's farmān, *ibid*., p. 954.

formity with the regulations of the Paradisiac assemblies, and it is not the custom that anyone, with the exception of the amirs, dignitaries, great mustaufis, khans of exalted rank, vazirs and Ṣāḥib-raqams (**11b**) should sit in the Guard House.

§7. The Rukn al-salṭanat al-qāhira, the ʿālī-jāh Qūrchi-bāshī is the most important of the amirs who are the Pillars of the Brilliant State. He is the senior officer ("white beard") of all the tribes and oymāqs of the God-protected provinces. The tiyūl, hama-sāla and the sums (*tankhwāh*) due to the qūrchis on the divan staff (*mulāzim*) are first confirmed and approved by the Qūrchi-bāshī and then submitted to the Grand Vazir, after which the amount is received. The appointment of valis, governors, sulṭāns, yūz-bashis, and the assignment of tiyūls and salaries to all the qūrchis were graciously accorded [by the King] on a submission (*ʿarḍ*) of the Qūrchi-bāshī and the presentation of a taʿlīqa by the Grand Vazir (**12a**). The Qūrchi-bāshī, who is the senior officer (*rīsh-safīd*) of his department (*sarkār*), after due enquiry, used to decide (*qaṭʿva faṣl*) all the affairs relative to the qūrchis. The Qūrchi-bāshī is the most important of the Pillars of the Mighty State. The raqams and orders concerning appointments, salaries, tiyūls, hama-sāla and grants (*inʿām*) of the said staff, i.e. of all those employed in the ranks (*muntazim dar silk*) of the exalted corps of qūrchis received the [Royal?] *ṭughrā*[1] and the seal of the Qūrchi-bāshī. The records of the muster (*nuskhajāt-i sān*) of the qūrchis were presented to the King (*khidmat-i ashraf*) by the Vazir and Mustaufī of the same department in the presence of the Qūrchi-bāshī (cf. f. 59b). The latter is one of the "council amirs" (**12b**).

§8. The Rukn al-daula, the ʿālī-jāh Qūllar-āqāsī is the most important of the Pillars of the State after the Qūrchi-bāshī. He is the senior officer (*rīsh-safīd*) of all the ghulāms of the Royal Household (*sarkār-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*). The tiyūls, salaries both hama-sāla and payable in drafts (*barātī*), as well as grants (*inʿām*) of all the ghulāms were first approved (*tajvīz*) by the Qullar-āqāsī and then decreed (*raqam*) by the Grand Vazir, after which the amount (*tankhwāh*) was received. Offices of vālī, governor, yüz-bāshī (centurion) and mīn-bāshi (commander of a thousand), as well as tiyūls, salaries (*mavājib*) and grants were graciously accorded [by the Shah] (*shafaqat*) to the ghulāms, on a submission of the Qullar-āqāsī and a *taʿlīqa* (**13a**) of the Grand Vazir. The affairs relative to the ghulāms were investigated and decided by the Qullar-āqāsi who is the senior officer of the said department. The raqams and orders (*ḥukm*) relative to employment (*mulāzamat*) of the ghulāms, and the salaries, tiyūls, hama-sāla and grants of the above-mentioned corps, after having received the *ṭughrā* and the seal of the Qullar-āqāsī received the raqam of the [Grand Vazir]. The records of the muster (*nuskha-yi sān*) of the ghulāms were submitted to the King by the Vazir and the Mustaufī of the said department in the presence of the Qullar-āqāsī (cf. f. 61b). The latter is one of the "council amirs" (v.s., f. 8b).

§9. The Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī (**13b**) of the Supreme Divan is the senior officer (*rīsh-safīd*) of all the aides-de-camp (*yasāvulān-i ṣuḥbat*), eshīk-āqāsī of

1 Cf. f. 40b.

the Divan, eunuchs (*āqā*), door-keepers (*qāpūjiyān*) of the Divan, yasāvuls and public announcers of the Divan (*jārchī*). To his competence belong the affairs of the members of assemblies (*jamāʿat-i majlis-nishīn*), the maintenance of order (*nasaq*) among them and the ordering of the places of those who sit and stand in the assembly, from the highest to the lowest. If anything contrary to rule happens in the procedure of an assembly, the responsible person is the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī. Similarly to the dispositions (*dastūr*) regarding the amirs who are the senior officers of the qūrchis and the ghulāms, the above mentioned ʿālī-jāh is the senior officer of all the āqās.[1]

With regard to the salary, tiyūls and hama-sāla of his subordinates (*tavāhin*) he makes submissions (**14a**) and if they are signed (*mumdā*) by the Grand Vazir the raqam is issued. He approves (*tajvīz*) and seals the statements concerning the candidates (*kayfiyāt-i ʿavaḍ*?) who are desirous to take service in place of those who are changed, as well as statements regarding salaries payable in drafts (*mavājib-i barātī*), hama-sāla and tiyūls. The raqams of appointment and increase of salary (*mavājib*) of his subordinates, as well as orders (*ḥukm*) for tiyūls, hama-sāla and salary payable in drafts receive the *tughrā* and the seal of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī. The Lashkar-nivīs of the Supreme Divan (§62) and the Zīr-u-sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs of the Supreme Divan (§63) [act as?] mustaufīs to the department of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī, Whenever the latter mustered (*sān-rā mulāḥaza*) his subordinates, or sent them on an expedition (*safar*) (**14b**) the Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs and the secretaries (*muḥarrirān*) of the department wrote the records of the muster (*nuskhajāt-i sān*) and the Lashkar-nivīs read them in the presence of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī; whatever the latter ordered with regard to them the Lashkar-nivīs (§62) and the Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs inscribed under the [respective] names.

Whenever presents were brought to the Kings on the occasion of Naurūz, etc., the Pīshkash-nivīs of the Royal Private Department (§124) made a detailed list (*tafṣīl va siyāha*) of everything, with the exception of various foodstuffs offered to the Private Department, and handed the register (*tūmār*) to the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī. As for the foodstuffs brought as presents they belong to the competence (*sar-rishta*) (**15a**) of the ʿālī-jāh Nāẓir of the Buyūtāt. The latter appoints a supernumerary (?) scribe (*iḍāfa-nivīs*) who collects (*jamʿ*) the presents as indicated in the register, and according (*ba-munāsabat*) [to their nature] delivers them (*taḥvīl*) to the heads of departments (*ṣāḥib-jamʿ*), while the mushrifs of the shops register (*ʿamal*) them in their day-books (*rūznāmahā*).

The Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī announces (*iʿlām*) the ceremony of baise-pieds[2] [in connection with the new] appointments (?) and [during it] directs the officials and other persons commanded to attend the Paradisiac assembly (*majlis-i bihisht-āyīn*), as to the kissing of [His Majesty's] feet; that is entirely the business of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī, and no one else has any connection with it.

1 *Āqā* would usually mean "eunuch," but here it may refer to the whole staff of the "gentlemen" mentioned above. V.i., p. 130.

2 Sit venia verbo!

§10. The ʿālī-jāh TUFANGCHĪ-ĀQĀSĪ is the senior officer of the mīn-bāshīs, yüz-bāshīs, jārchīs, couriers (*rīkā*) and all the musketeers (*tufangchī*).

The tiyūls, hama-sāla (**15b**), salaries payable in drafts and grants of all the subordinates (*tavābīn*) of the Tufangchī-āqāsī, are [first] approved and certified by the latter and [then] receive the raqam of the Grand Vazir, after which the amount (*tankhwāh*) is obtained (*bāz-yāft*). [The Tufangchī-āqāsī reports on] the promotion of tufangchīs and jārchīs to the rank of mīn-bāshī, yüz-bāshī and jārchī-bāshī, on the appointments of the tufangchīs, and on tiyūls, hama-sāla and salaries and, in conformity with (*bar ṭibq*) this report, the Grand Vazir issues a raqam after which [the demand] is graciously granted and the royal letters patent (*raqam-i ashraf*) are issued. The Tufangchī-āqāsī ascertains the matters concerning the tufangchīs and gives his decision (*tamyīz va tashkhīṣ*) thereon. The raqams and orders relative to employment (*arqām va aḥkām-i mulāzamat*), tiyūls, hama-sāla (**16a**) sums payable in drafts and grants to the tufangchīs are under the *ṭughrā* and seal of the Tufangchī-āqāsī. The records of the muster (*nuskha-yi sān*) of the Musketeers are read to His Majesty by the Vazir and the Mustaufī of the Tufangchī Dt., in the presence of the Tufangchī-āqāsī (cf. f. 63a).

§11. The business of the ʿālī-jāh NĀẒIR-I BUYŪTĀT ("Superintendent of the Royal Workshops") was as follows. In the beginning of the year he issued a *taʿlīqa* to the effect that through the agency of a special delegate (*ba-muḥassilī-yi aḥadī*) and having recourse to the competence (*vuqūf*) of the heads of the departments (*sahib-jamʿ*), the Mushrifs of the Buyūtāt (§52) should approximately evaluate the six months' expenditure of the Royal Household, deduction made of the credit (*bāqī*) in money and kind, and of the permanent annual contributions of goods (*ajnās-i hama-sālajāt*) which, in virtue of raqams, were to be supplied (*infādh*) from provinces (*vilāyāt*) (**16b**). The Vazir of the Workshops (§50) read this estimate to the Nāẓir-i buyūtāt and acquainted him with it. Then the said Vazir wrote [a report] on the estimate to the Iʿtimād al-daula and the Nāẓir put his seal to it to say that the Mushrif evaluated the six months' expenditure of the Workshops of the Private Household at such-and-such a sum; therefore he should command (*muqarrar*) that the muqarrab al-khāqān the Chief Treasurer (*ṣaḥib-jamʿ-i khazāna-yi ʿāmira*) should pay (*muhimm-sāzī*) the estimated sum (*vajh*) to the heads of the departments against their receipts (*qubūḍ al-wāsil*). The latter presented their receipts to the Treasurer and obtained (*bāz-yāft*) the [respective] sums. Of the goods which the heads of the departments had to buy, some were of the kind for which (**17a**) the price was fixed once a year. And it was a rule that the Nāẓir of the Workshops commissioned one of his subordinates to convene the Vazir of the Workshops, the Muḥtasib al-mamālik, the Mustaufī of Isfahān (§82) and the elders of the guilds (*sinf*). They all sat together and fixed the price of goods in conformity with the interests (*ṣarfa*) of the Divan, putting the samples of the commodities under seal. The schedule of prices (*qīmat-nāmcha*) sealed by the officials (*maʿmūrīn*) and the Nāẓir-i buyūtāt was communicated to the heads

of the departments, so that whatever goods became necessary during the year for the consumption of the Private Household, they should buy them in conformity with the samples under seal, and for the consignments sent to them (*az bābat-i tahvilāt-i khud*) they should pay (*muhimm-sāzī*) to the owners the price indicated in the schedule. (**17b**) There are some other goods for which the Ṣāḥib-nasaq (v.i. f. 80a) has month by month to receive contracts (*iltizām*) from each of the elders [of the guilds] and to hand them to the Muḥtasib al-mamālik. The latter kept (*ḍabṭ*) them and, on that basis, prepared lists of prices (*tasʿir-nāmajāt*) which, in due course (*ba-munāsabat*), he presented to the Nāẓir of the Workshops, [who?] made enquiries as to the truth of the statements. If he understands that some of the goods have been quoted at exaggerated prices, he diminished them so as not to cause any injustice and not to provoke any bad feeling (*bad-duʿāʾī*); [the list] is then handed to the heads of the departments, in order that the Mushrifs of the Workshops should draw up (*qalamī*) the purchase documents in proportion to the expenditure (*ikhrājāt*), deduction being made of the debit (*bāqī*) [in the accounts] of the heads of the departments; [on the other hand] the written schedule of prices is augmented by ½₀ [= 5 per cent.] of fees (*rusūmāt*). After the Nāẓir has sealed the document, (the sum) is credited for its purpose (*ba-kharj-i khud mujrā*). (**18a**).

The Nāẓir enjoins (*qadaghan*) the Mushrifs to draw up every month a document summing up their daily entries of the allowances (*rūz-nāmajāt-i muqarrarī-hā*), on the basis of the allowances which has been reported to the King and has become a [legal] document (*ʿarḍ va sanad guzashta bāshad*), with the addition (*iḍāfa*) of the expenses for the Royal Private Household, assemblies (*majlis*), guests and other similar occasions. Such documents, under the seal of the Nāẓir of the Workshops, are entered in the day-books (of the mushrifs?). Every month the day-books must be presented to the Vazir of the Workshops in order that he may compare (*muqābala*) them with [other] documents and endorse (*khaṭṭ*) them; then the Nāẓir seals them and they are remitted to the Mustaufī of the Arbāb-i taḥāvīl who checks (*mushakhkhas*) the credit and debit (*jamʿ va kharj*) of the heads of the departments. As regards the workshops of foodstuffs (*kārkhānajat-i khurākī*) (**18b**) their credit and debit were half-yearly checked (*mushakhkhaṣ*) by the Mushrifs and yearly by the Mustaufī for, in case of delay (*pas uftad*) in the examination of the day-books and documents, enormous losses might be yearly caused to the Private Household. In cases when a hama-sāla was assigned on provinces (*vilāyāt*) the Nāẓir appointed a special delegate (*muḥaṣṣil*) who went on the spot to collect (*vusūl*) and send (*infādh*) the goods. If for some reason the goods were not sent to the Workshops (*Buyūtāt*) the heads of the departments used to submit to the Iʿtimād al-daula a statement sealed by the Nāẓir of the Workshops and obtain a substitute (*ʿavaḍ*) from the Treasury or from the other sums belonging to the Divan and spend it in the same way as [they would have spent the goods] in kind (**19a**).

Once a year the Nāẓir of the Workshops musters the workmen of the Workshops, approves (*tajvīz*) their salaries and gives them leave (*rukhṣat*). The Nāẓir buys every kind of goods at a proper time, suitable for the interests of the Divan, and stores them (*munabbar sāzad*) making sure that, if the prices were to rise during the year, there should be no loss to the Dīvān. Once a year the Nāẓir examines the camels to see whether they are fat or lean, weak or broken down (*isqāṭ*). At the beginning of autumn, he instructs the Chief Architect to consider what buildings need repairs and issues sums (*tankhwāh*) as required by the interests (*ṣarfa*) of the Divan.

Whenever the King graciously gives (*shafaqat*) someone a present or a robe of honour (*khalʿat*), it is necessary that [the grant be embodied] in a document (**19b**) written by the Iʿtimād al-daula and sealed by the Nāẓir. As regards the textiles which, according to the rule, are usually issued for the clothes of the Royal Private Household and for the robes of honour (*khilāʿ-i fākhira*) of the amirs, etc., at the beginning of the year the Nāẓir writes a taʿlīqa and the Iʿtimād al-daula issues a raqam; then the Nāẓir's subordinates (*tavābīn*) start for the [special] localities (*ulgā*), thence to send textiles to the capital. The Nāẓir must take dispositions concerning bath-houses and ice-stores (*yakhchāl*), as well as concerning the supply of fuel (*hīma*) for the [Royal] Kitchen, etc., all in proper time and in accordance with the annual norms (*ikhrājāt-i sāliyāna*). He must also provide (*saranjām*) barley and straw for the horse and camel stables (*tavāyil va shuturkhān*, sic). He must daily inspect the quality and quantity of the material used (*ikhrājāt*), the food of the Private Household and of the servants (*khādim*),[1] in order that store-keepers (*taḥvīldārān*) (**20a**) should not issue goods of inferior quality.

The Nāẓir enjoins the Keepers and the workmen of the Workshops not to take away (*kashand*) or appropriate the property belonging to peasants (*raʿīyat*) and poorer classes (*faqīrān*), nor to buy anything without the owner's consent, which might provoke bad feeling, but to pay the price according to the established norms (*mushakhkhas*). No kind of expenditure (*ikhrājāt*) may be made in the Workshops without the Nāẓir's knowledge. No one of the King's ghulāms or attendants (*mulāzimān*) may take anything from the Workshops without the Nāẓir's taʿlīqa. The said Nāẓir is the head of the three-and-thirty departments of the Royal Workshops and has full powers (*ṣāḥib-ikhtiyār*) over them. He is the senior officer of the heads of the departments (**20b**) and even [the affairs of?] the Amīrākhur-bāshī and the Jabbadār-bāshī, and the presentation of reports on the demands (*maṭālib-i mustadʿāyāt*) of the majority of the heads of the departments belong to the competence of the Nāẓir of the Royal Workshops.

§12. The ʿālī-jāh muqarrab al-khāqān Dīvān-begi is one of the great amirs. The regulations (*ḍābiṭa*) concerning his duties (were) that four days a week, jointly with the Ṣadr, he used to come to the Keshīk-khāna which had been (*būda-ast*) assigned to the Dīvān-begis. There, directed (*ba-ḥukm*) by the Ṣadr (v.s. f. 4a), he

1 Or, eunuchs.

interrogated (*bāz-khwāst*) those guilty of the four capital crimes, namely, murder, rape, blinding and breaking of teeth. They also used to control (*mī-rasīdand*) tribunals of other legal authorities (*arbāb-i rujūʿ*) of the God-blessed provinces (**21a**) and tried cases of oppression and transgression (*ẓulm-va-ziyādatī*), and civil actions (*ṭalab-i tankhwāh*) between townsmen and peasants, for sums exceeding 4–5 tomans.[1] To the Dīvān-begi's competence appertains the execution of Shariʿāt decisions and the maintenance of order (*nasaq*) in the town so that the weak should not suffer from the strong any oppression or transgression [of rights]. When plaintiffs complained of acts of violence and oppression, or of the four capital crimes, etc., committed in the environs of the town, i.e. at a distance not exceeding 10–12 farsakhs, the Dīvān-begi wrote a *taʿliqa-yi bayāḍī* explaining the plaintiff's statement and addressed it to the *qūrchī-yi ajrlu*,[2] or some other (**21b**) of his subordinates (*yā-ghayra-yi tābīnān*) to make an inquiry (*ghaur-rasi*). If the plaintiff was from some distant district, the rule was such that in cases (*muqaddima*) of murder caution-money (*iltizām*) of five tomans (was obtained) from the plaintiff [cf. f. 67b], then the Dīvān-begi and the Munshī-yi Dīvān (§23) wrote a taʿlīqa, and an order (*ḥukm*) was issued [cf. f. 39a]; the [collection] of the amount of the guarantee was entrusted [*abvāb-jamʿ*) to the above mentioned (?) special delegate while the order [itself] was registered in the books. The procedure (*dād-u-sitad*) [with the said caution money] was as in the case of other taxes (*vujūhāt*?) (cf. §64).

On two other days of the week, the Dīvān-begi used to try at his own house the civil cases of common law (*daʿvāhā-yi ḥisāb-i ʿurf*). And in either of the tribunals where the Dīvān-begī was active (*mutavajjih*), whenever the case concerned the Divan revenue, or whenever the party (**22a**) was one of the civil servants (*arbāb-i qalam*) subordinate to the Grand Vazir, he transmitted [the cases] to the Grand Vazir. Similarly when one of the parties was a qūrchī or a ghulām, or a member of some other victorious force, or a workman of the Workshops, [the case] was submitted to the senior officer of the respective department (*sarkār*). But with regard to other townfolk or villagers, especially when the case did not involve Divan property (*māl-i dīvāni*), the Dīvān-begi examined the case himself and gave his decision (*qaṭʿ-va-faṣl*).

If some people came from the provinces to the Exalted Camp (*ordu*)[3] with complaints against the beglarbegis, governors or sulṭāns and, without reporting their cases to the Grand Vazir, reported them to the Dīvān-begi, the latter (**22b**) made an inquiry into each one's complaint and reported the circumstances to the King, and then the case was examined (*ghaur-rasī*) in the manner best suited to

1 For lesser cases v.i., f. 79b.

2 Chardin, VII, 421, mentions "*le palais du yuz-bachi, ou capitaine des cent gardes, qu'on nomme Agellou, c'est à dire, Montagnards, ponr donner à entendre qu'ils sont fiers et intrépides.*" The derivation is wrong: *ajrlu* means "the one receiving a pay (*ajr*)." The *ajrlū* were probably picked qurchis used as a kind of gendarmerie for special commissions.

3 I.e. to the Court. The term *ordu*, a survival of the Mongol epoch, was out of date at the period when the Ṣafavid kings resided at their capital of Iṣfahan. Cf. f. 42b.

the interests of the state (*daulat*) and to the rules (*ḍābiṭa*) accepted in the kingdom.

§13. The ʿālī-jāh Amīr-shikār-bāshī is one of the amirs of high rank. All the falconers (*qūshchīyān*) are subordinated (*tābīn*) to him; the confirmation of their employment, reports (*ʿarḍ*) on their affairs and demands of grants (*inʿām*) on their behalf depend on the said amir. The statements of their requests [concerning?] money (*tankhwāh*), tiyūl and hama-sāla are first approved (*tajvīz*) by the said amir and then submitted to the Grand Vazir's raqam (**23a**) after which the sums are paid up. Every year a sum is paid from the Royal Secretariat (*daftar-khāna*) for the engagement (*taḥṣīl*) of falconers (*qūshchīyān*) nominated (*taʿyīn*?) by the Mīr-shikār-bāshī. When the sum is received the Amīr-shikār-bāshī distributes it among his subordinates according to the usual practice.

§14. The ʿālī-jāh Tūpchī-bāshī is the senior officer of the yüz-bashis, mīn-bashis, tūpchis and jār-chis of the artillery department (*tūp-khāna*). The tiyūls, salaries, hama-sāla, [sums payable in] drafts and grants (**23b**) [of all] of the Tūpchi-bashi's subordinates are approved by the Tūpchi-bashi and on the ground [of this approval] a raqam is issued by the Grand Vazir, after which the sums are received. The commissions of mīn-bashis and yūz-bashis over the tūpchis, and of jārchi-bashis [over?] the artillery jārchis, as well as [the commissions] of their subordinates and the specification of the salaries, tiyūls and hama-sāla of all this staff are graciously confirmed [by the king?] on the ground of the Tūpchi-bashi's reports. After the Grand Vazir has written a taʿlīqa, the Royal (*ashraf*) raqam is issued. The Tūpchi-bashi duly examined the affairs regarding the tūpchis and the royal artillery (*tūpkhāna-yi mubāraka*) and took decisions. The orders concerning the employment (*arqām va akhām mulāzamat*), tiyūls, hama-sāla, sums payable in drafts and grants of the artillerymen were (**24a**) presented to the Tūpchi-bashi's signature and seal. The muster rolls (*nuskha-yi sān*) of the artillerymen were read to his Majesty by the Vazir and the Mustaufī of the Artillery Department in the presence of the Tūpchi-bashi (cf. f. 65a).

§15. The duty of the ʿālī-jāh Mīrākhor-bāshī-yi jilau is to be present when the King (*navvāb-i kāmyāb*) examines the horses of the stables of the Private Household, or the animals (*davābb*) sent to the stables as a present, etc., or when His Majesty rides the horses of the Private Household (*jilauhā-yi khāṣṣa*). The maintenance of order in the stables[1] and the appointment of the marshals (*mīrākhorān*), grooms and water-carriers of the stables belongs to his competence. He writes taʿlīqas of appointment of the above mentioned staff, as well as of the jilaudārs[2] of the Private Department, servants (*khādiman-va-ʿkhwāja-sarāyān*),[3] ghulāms and other lower staff (*ʿamala*). After the inspection rolls (*ṭavāmīr-i sān*) of the said staff have been considered (*mulāḥaẓa*) by the Nāẓir of the Workshops (*sic*), they are submitted to the confirmation (*ba-taṣdīq andāzand*) of the Mīrāk-

1 According to Chardin, V, 457, there were three royal stables in the capital.

2 *Jilaudārs* are grooms of a higher rank riding ahead of their masters. Chardin, V, 488.

3 Hardly eunuchs?

hor-bashi. With the exception of the jilaudārs of the Private Household who are confirmed by the Jilaudār-bashi, the rest (*tatimma*) of the lower staff (*ʿamala*) of the stables mentioned above, together with farriers and veterinaries are confirmed by the Amīrākhor-bashi, and then (**24b**) presented to the Grand Vazir's raqam after which the money (due to them) is paid.

§16. The duty of the ʿālī-jāh Mīrākhor-bashi-yi ṣaḥrā is to consider every year jointly with the Superintendent of the animals (*nāẓir-i davābb*) the contingent of the studs (*ʿarḍ-i īlkhī*) of the Private Household and the foals (*nitāj*) and, having in hand the inspection rolls (*tūmār-i ʿarḍ*) compiled by the Mushrif, to report to the Department of the Arbāb-i taḥvīl. The money for the fodder (*ʿalīq*) and other needs of the studs is given according to the usual practice (*maʿmūl*), on the basis of the estimate of the Mushrif, approved by the Amīrākhor-bashi-yi ṣaḥrā and the Superintendent of the animals. The maintenance of order in the reservations (*qoruqāt*) belongs to the competence of the said amīr. The appointment of amīrākhors, district chiefs (**25a**), grooms and other attendants of the studs depends on his approval and confirmation.

§17. On the ʿālī-jāh muqarab al-khāqān Majlis-nivīs-i maḥfil-i bihishtāyīn ("Recorder of the King's audiences"). The duty of the Recorder (*vāqiʿa-nivisān*) is to draw up replies to the letters addressed to the Kings of Iran by [other] kings, and raqams concerning ranks and employment (*manāṣib-va-mulāzamāt*), as well as concerning the hama-sāla and tiyūls issued on the ground of the books of standing enactments (*az dafātir-i khulūd*?).[1] Every order (*raqam*) which the King gives by word of mouth, and which is (technically) called *mushāfaha*,[2] is transmitted to the Vāqiʿa-nivīs, whether it has been [recorded] in a taʿlīqa of the Grand Vazir,[3] or the amirs and courtiers communicated something in their memoranda (*ba-risāla-yi khud*) with the formula (*qayd*): "by the supreme command" (**25b**). Such raqams become operative[4] [only] with the Vāqiʿa-nivīs's knowledge and with the tughrā [which he traces] in ink (*qalam-i midād*) (?).[5] The tracing on the raqams of a *ṭughrā* in black ink (*ba-qalam-i siyāhī*?) is the prerogative of the Vāqiʿa-nivīs and others have nothing to do with it.[6] The Vāqiʿa-nivīs is one of the "council amirs" (*umarā-yi jānqī*) and one of the King's companions (*anīs-va-jalīs*) at private and general assemblies. Petitions and detailed reports (*fuṣūl*) despatched by the amirs and governors from the God-protected provinces to the foot of the throne are all sent by the King to the Majlis-nivīs in order that he should read them to Him in a private or a general assembly, and draw up (*qalamī*) replies to them. When a raqam has to be issued, special scribes (*raqam-nivīs*) under the

1 V.s., f. 10b.

2 V.s., f. 9b.

3 Perhaps: "whether it has been endorsed with the formula: *az qarār-i taʿlīq*," cf.

4 Liter. "pass." The text is not very clear: *ba-iṭṭilāʿ-va-tughrā[-yi] qalam-i midād-i vāqiʿa-nivīs arqām-i madhkūr mīguzarad*.

5 This category of documents (cf. also f. 42b) seems to be distinct from the documents on which the tughrā was traced by the Munshī al-mamālik (f. 40a).

6 Cf. p. 42b.

Vāqiʿa-nivīs's orders write it from his rough draft (*yād-dāsht-i musavvada*) (**26a**). The answers to the (governors') reports are written by the Vāqiʿa-nivīs in his hand under each point (*taḥt-i har faṣl*) following the tenor of the King's orders, and then registered in the register (*sar-rishta*) of the Vāqiʿa-nivīs.

The staff of the Vāqiʿa-nivīs used to consist of ten persons:

Scribes of raqams and the registrar (*sar-rishta-dār*) of raqams	7 persons
[Namely:]	
Scribe of raqams of the Supreme Divan, his three assistants (*ba-komäk-i ū*) and registrar of raqams	5 persons
Scribes of the raqams which are issued from drafts in the registers	2 persons
[Moreover] were employed (**26b**) on secretarial and other work at the Vāqiʿa-nivīs's discretion (*ḥasab al-ṣalāḥ*) and on his behalf	3 persons
[namely:] employed at the Vāqiʿa-nivīs's discretion	2 persons
Letter writer (*nāma-nivīs*)	1 person

Reports on the petitions presented to His Majesty[1] belong to the Vāqiʿa-nivīs's competence. If, in official reports (*dar ʿarḍ-i manāṣib*?), etc., there were some matters inspired with concern for the common weal (*daulat-khwāhī*), [such matters], in case they corresponded to the interests of the State, were given credit and support (*iʿtibār-va-iʿtimād*).[2] Every year a sum of 30 tomans was given in cash (*tankhwāh*) from the revenue (*vujūhāt*) of Isfahan for the purchase of paper for raqams, for registration (*thabt*) and for the register books of the Vāqiʿa-nivīs's office (*sar-rishta-yi dafātir-i ān*). Whenever the Vāqiʿa-nivīs wished to report a matter on his own, or somebody else's behalf, he went without hindrance (**27a**) into the King's presence, be it in a private or a general assembly and reported the matter. The Majlis-nivīs has the exclusive right to read to the King any petitions submitted by whomsoever it might be, and to write replies to them; for this reason the Vāqiʿa-nivīs is called Majlis-nivīs. Among the civil officials (*arbāb-qalam*) there is no person, except the Grand Vazir, who stands higher in service and nearer [to the throne]. Since the days of old, the Vāqiʿa-nivīs used to sit in the King's presence, be it in private or general assemblies, and during the consideration of minor or major affairs the word of the Vāqiʿa-nivīs (**27b**) and his suggestions were relied upon (*manāṭ-va-muʿtabar*).

§18. The ʿālī-jāh Mustaufī al-mamālik belongs to the number of the great amirs. His activities (*shughl-va-ʿamal*) are very important (*ʿaẓīm*). All operations (*dād-va-sitad*) with the Divan revenue on the territory of the God-protected provinces (*mamālik*) must be carried out in accordance with the instructions (*nuskhajāt*) which the Mustaufī al-mamālik writes from his office to all the provincial agents (*ʿummāl*); the latter must depend on (*mustanad-i khud*) these documents and operate in strict conformity (*bi-dūn-i kam-va-ziyād*) with

1 The sentence is cut into two by the enumeration of the staff.

2 Cf. this formula at the end of official documents, Or. 4935, No xa.

them. All the tiyūls and hama-sāla of the Governor Generals, khans, governors and sulнāns, all the fees (*rusūmāt*) of the vazirs, mustaufis and kalāntars, the salaries of the civil and military (**28a**) officials, pensions (*vaẓā'if*), soyūrghāls, etc., become operative and the money is paid out [only] when the official schedules have been sealed by the Mustaufī al-mamālik.[1] The Grand Vazir[2] does not operate (*dād-u-sitad*) with the Divan revenue (*māliyāt*) without the confirmation (*taṣdīq*) of the Mustaufī al-mamālik. The latter's approval is a condition of credit and trust (*manāṭ-i ī'tibār va i'timād-ast*) in revenue affairs.

The scribes of the Supreme Divan are appointed after approval by the senior officers of the interested departments (*rīsh-safīd-i har sarkār*) and the confirmation[3] of the Mustaufī al-mamālik. The Nāẓir (§52 and §97?), the Head Clerk (*dārūgha-yi daftar*) (§54), the Ṣāḥib-taujīh (§65), the Ḍābiṭa-nivīses (§64), the Keepers of avāraja [books] (§69), etc., are all under (*juz'*) the Mustaufī al-mamālik.

As regards the revenues (*vujūhāt*) of the Private Department (*sarkār-i khāṣṣa*) and those entrusted to the Keepers (*arbāb-i taḥāvīl*), operations (*dād-u-sitad*) with which [respectively] belong to the competence (**28b**) of the Mustaufis of the Private Department and [of] the Arbāb-i taḥāvīl (cf. f. 46a), whatever sums the Mustaufī al-mamālik allots (*rasad rasānad*) to them, they pay out the amount (*tankhwāh*). With the exception of the raqams for pensions, exemptions (*mu'āfiyāt*), etc., of the Private Department, all the other raqams of employment (*arqām-i mulāzamat*) and orders for payment of money (*aḥkām-i tankhwāh*) of all the employees,—whether the sums pass (read: *biguzarad*) through the Divan office (*daftar-i dīvān*) or through the Private Department, or through the Arbāb-i taḥāvīl,—must be sealed by the Mustaufī al-mamālik.

The latter prosecutes (*bāz-khwāst*) in cases of offences committed by the secretaries (*muḥarrir*) of the Divan office. All the mustaufis of the God-protected kingdom are appointed with his approval (*tajvīz*?).

List (*kitāb*) of the clerical staff of the said department under (*dar khidmat*) (**29a**) the Mustaufī al-mamālik:

Five Ṣāḥib-raqams under the Mustaufī al-mamālik's orders appointed to the Divan service by raqams (*hasab al-arqām mulāzim-i dīvān*). Their duties were to consider and to check (*taṣḥīḥ*) statements (*kayfiyāt*), raqams and orders regarding employment, [payment of] money, hama-sāla, tiyūl, pensions, exemptions (*mu'āfiyāt*), soyūrghāls and the rest of the correspondence belonging to the activities of the office (*dād-u-sitad-i daftarī*). Whatever was correct, was presented to the Mustaufī al-mamālik's seal and signature, but if the matter was incorrect (*khilāf-i hḥisāb*), an official (*daftarī*) reply was written and [the matter] referred back (*radd*) to the writer (*ṣāḥib kāghadh*).

1 *Va kayfiyāt-i daftarī-ki ba-muhr-i mushār-ilayh rasīda bāshad*: in this sentence *ki* is not a relative pronoun but an enclitic conjunction "as."

2 *Vuzarā-yi dīvān-i a'lā?*

3 The places of *tajvīz* and *taṣdīq* are inverted in the text.

For the purpose of information and co-ordination (*ham-qalamī*) of the other departments of Expenditure (*sarkārāt-i kharj*), the scribes of the KHĀLIṢ DT. (*sarkār-i khāliṣ*), which office is under the orders (**29b**) of the Mustaufī al-mamālik, used to register the raqams of appointment and employment and the orders (*aḥkām*) referring to tiyūls, hama-sāla, sums payable in drafts, grants, soyūrghāls, exemptions (*muʿāfiyāt*) and other items (*vujūhāt*) coming under the purview of the activities of the office.

There used to be [in the department] 4 secretaries of whom no one is now available (*maujūd*), or is alive (*dar qayd-i ḥayāt*).

§19. The duty of the KHALĪFAT AL-KHULAFĀ[1] is to follow the rule (*dastūr*) established in the time of SHAYKH ṢAFĪ AL-DĪN ISḤĀQ, namely, to gather in the *tauḥīd-khāna*, every Thursday evening, darvīshes and sūfīs and (**30a**) to keep them repeating, by way of loud dhikr (*dhikr-i jalī*), the pious formula: *lā ilāh illāʾllāh*; on Thursday evenings, he distributes to the darvīshes bread, sweetmeats (*ḥalwā*) and food, and, on other occasions, bread and the customary food. There are also two khalifas, a head-servant (*khādim-bāshī*) and several servants (*ʿamala*) of the tauhīd- khāna. Khalīfas are also appointed throughout the God-protected kingdom for the maintenance of lawful practices and for the prohibition of unlawful (*munkar*) ones. The appointment is made by a taʿlīqa of the [Khalīfat al-]khulaṣā, on the strength of which a royal raqam is issued.

CHAPTER III

ON THE OFFICES OF THE MUQARRABS HAVING THE TITLE OF *MUQARRAB AL-KHĀQĀN*, OR *MUQARRAB AL-ḤAḌRAT*

THE chapter consists of two divisions (*maqāla*) of which the first treats of the functions of the muqarrabs who, on account of their special proximity to the throne (**30b**) and of their rank of service are styled muqarrab al-khaqan and are divided into two categories (*nauʿ*). [The second division treats of the persons called muqarrab al-ḥaḍrat, v.i., fol. 43b.]

DIVISION A: THE MUQARRAB AL-KHĀQĀNS

Category (*a*): the KHWĀJA-SARĀ (palace eunuchs), holders of offices.[2] At first, in the time of the earlier Ṣafavid monarchs, there were no white palace eunuchs, and consequently whoever among the black eunuchs was the most clever and capable, and had the most merits (*lāyiqtar*) in the King's service, was appointed Senior Eunuch (*rīsh-safīd*) of the Exalted Harem. This chief and lord commanded (*amr-u-nahy*) all the black eunuchs. The reports which the frontier amīrs sent to the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī, or those sent by the amirs resident at the court to the

1 In view of the semi-religious character of this office this paragraph might have come under Chapter I, but for the chasm there was between the Sharīʿat and Sufi-ism.

2 On simple khwāja-sarā, v.s. 24a.

Harem were first handed to the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī of the Honorable Harem (**31a**) who has a guard-house (*keshīk-khāna*) of his own. This official (§28) passed them on to the chief of the Harem eunuchs, and the latter presented them, inside the Harem, to the King and brought back the reply. [Then] the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī summoned the amīrs to the Keshīk-khāna and personally declared to them how the king had decided in reply to the reports.

Another important palace eunuch who in his dignity, rank and esteem was an equal to the chief of the Harem was [called] the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Royal Treasury (§32) and all the cash and [other precious] objects belonging to the Treasury that were in the outer and inner part of the palace (*andarūn va birūn*) were entrusted to him. The Keeper of the keys of the Treasury was also a black eunuch, subordinate to the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Treasury. All the lower staff (*ʿamala*) (**31b**) of the Treasury was under the orders of the Treasurer and enjoyed great independence and esteem.

In the time of the late Shāh ʿAbbās, one hundred white Georgian ghulāms were castrated and one of them who was the most esteemed among them, was made their Yüz-bāshī ("Centurion"). Another Centurion was appointed over the black eunuchs and to him were subordinated one hundred black eunuchs.

Until the time of Shāh Sulṭān-Ḥusayn the Centurion of the white eunuchs was Ibrāhīm-āqā, and the Centurion of the black eunuchs Ilyās-āqā; each had a house in the precincts (*dar daur*) of the Harem[1] [and lived] with proper pomp (*dastgāh*). As it appears from the register books (*sar-rishta-yi dafātir*), they themselves, with their respective subordinates, had definite tiyūls and salaries (**32a**). The post of Nāẓir (*naẓārat*) and the Directorship of the Arsenal (*jabbadār-bāshī-garī*), which in the days of the earlier Safavids belonged to the Qizil-bash muqarrabs, in the days of Shah Sulaymān and Shah Sulṭān-Ḥusayn were transferred to the white eunuchs. For a period of time Maḥmūd-āqā was first Director of the Arsenal, and the Nāẓir. After his death the directorship of the Arsenal passed to the white eunuch Ismāʿīl-āqā,[2] whereas the duties of Nāẓir returned to the Qizil-bash. The post of Master of the Wardrobe (*mihtarī-yi r.kīb-khāna*, sic) was also held by important eunuchs. Personal attendance on the King (*khidmat-i nazdīk*) and the holding of the towel-sheath (*qābliq-i dastmāl*) is a privilege of the Master of the Wardrobe (*mihtarān-i rikāb-khāna*) (§43).

The ghulāms of the Private Household[3] stand behind the King (**32b**). They had a special tutor (*lala*). The ordinary (*sāda*)[4] mall ghulāms, so long as they had no beards (*multaḥī nabūdand*), had a special tutor and a special teacher who edu-

1 Cf. Chardin, viii, 133.

2 The *Z.T.*, f. 210a, says that when Tahmāsp-mīrzā was appointed Heir-apparent, Muḥammad-āqā, Centurion of the ghulāmān-i khāṣṣa was attached to his person as a tutor (*lala*). Muḥammad-āqā refused to accompany his ward in the latter's attempt to run the Afghan blockade, and his place was taken by Ismāʿīl-āqā Jabbādār-bāshī, who successfully took Tahmāsp to Qazvīn.

3 Here in the sense of "young eunuchs."

4 I.e. non-eunuchs.

cated them. When they became grown up and their beards appeared they entered the *yūzdah*[1] and were placed under the qullar-aqasīs.[2]

Category (*b*): comprises the muqarrabs who are called muqarrab al-khāqān but are not eunuchs. This category consists of eight paragraphs.

§20. The muqarrab al-khāqān Ḥakīm-bāshī is the senior of all the doctors of the Royal Household and, being the companion of the King's general and private assemblies, (**33a**) he used to enjoy great love and affection. His business is to give medical care to the most sacred person of the King,—may our souls be a redeeming sacrifice of his blessed name! Feeling the King's pulse is his exclusive prerogative. The salary, grants and employment of the doctors are approved, reported and signed (*mumḍā*) by the Ḥakīm-bāshī, and the Grand Vazir and the Nāiir of the Workshops act in accordance with [his indications]. The Chief Chemist (*ʿaṭṭār-bāshī*, cf. §163) of the Royal Household is one of the Ḥakīm-bāshī's subordinates. The Ḥakīm-bāshī has the right to interdict medical practice [even] to the doctors not belonging to his staff (*ghayr-i mulāzim*) if they do not possess [due] knowledge. If any one of the vālīs or beglarbegis (**33b**) applies for [the appointment of] a doctor from the Royal staff, or if a sipahsālār or sardār, on his nomination, wants a doctor, the appointment of the doctors is made by the Ḥakīm-bāshī. In the time of the late King, apart from the former Ḥakīm-bāshī Mīrzā Raḥīm,[3] who drew a hama-sāla salary (*mavājib-i hama-sāla*)[4] of 400 tomans, the other (*sā'ir*) doctors attached to the Divan were 68 in number and a sum of 1796 tumans and 6366 dinars, consisting of hama-sāla and sums payable in drafts (*barātī*) was assigned to them.[5]

§21. Similarly to the medical staff, the muqarrab al-khāqān Munajjim-bāshī (**34a**) is daily present at the palace (*dar-i daulat khāna*) in order to make his suggestions in case the Sovereign or the muqarrabs should order him to ascertain a felicitous hour (*sāʿat-i saʿd*) for the beginning of an affair or for starting on a journey, or for putting on, and cutting out new clothes (§34). On [the occasion of] solar and lunar eclipses and on the King's birthday the Qūrchi-bāshī and other amirs used to bring alms (*taṣadduq*) before the radiant glances [of His Majesty]. Sometimes under the earlier [Safavid] monarchs [these sums] were distributed to meritorious persons by the most learned (*afḍal*) and pious (*aṣlaḥ*) of the contemporary scholars present at the Exalted Court; on some other occasions, the distribution was made by the Chief Astrologer, but since the appointment of the

1 *Yuz*, "one hundred" in Turkish; *dah*, "ten" in Persian? Perhaps the meaning is that the ghulams were incorporated in the units of "hundreds" and "tens"? Even now Persians say *yūz-bāshī* but *dah-bāshī*.

2 Perhaps the singular is meant here (§8). These ghulāms did not necessarily choose a military career.

3 Under Sulṭan-Ḥusayn, Mīrzā Rafīm was one of the principal intriguers who in A.D. 1720 provoked the fall of the Vazīr-i aʿẓam Fatḥ-ʿAlī khan. He also was in the Shah's suite during the latter's surrender to the Afghan Maḥmūd in 1722, cf. *Z.T.*, ff. 206a and 208a.

4 Evidently in the technical sense of *hama-sāla*, and not only "yearly."

5 But cf. f. 128a: 4.998 t. 1300 d.

Mullā-bāshī (§1) it has been he who distributed the above mentioned sums. (**34b**) Briefly [we may say that] the distribution of [propitiatory] alms to meritorious people, on the occasions of eclipses and the King's birthday, is to some extent connected (*bī-nisbat-nīst*) with the Munajjim-bāshī and the Mullā-bāshī.

§22. From ancient times until now the duty of the muqarrab al-khāqān Mūʿayyir al-mamālik ("Controller of Assay") has been [to see] that masters (*ustādān*) possessing knowledge and experience should produce (*ba-itmām rasānand*) in the Mint gold and silver of a definite standard (*ʿaydr*) and weight without any fraud (*ghall va ghashsh*), and that the moneyers in the service of the Divan should imprint (*manqūsh*) on it the stamp [previously] submitted to the radiant looks [of His Majesty], and so silver and gold [should be] coined. As the glory and efficiency of the Royal affairs depend on the khutba and caliphal[1] coins (*sikka-yi khilāfat*) (**35a**), and as the reliability (*iʿtimād*) of coins was recommended to the Muʿayyirs' attention, the chief (*ṣāḥib*) of this service used to enjoy great confidence, esteem and respect. The Sovereigns of true succession (*khilāfat-makīn*) entrusted all affairs regarding the Mint to the Muʿayyirs. The latter were admitted to all the general and private assemblies and, whenever they had some matters to submit (*dar ʿarḍ-i maṭālib*), they were not prevented from the honour of kissing the carpet of the general and private assemblies. They presented their petitions orally and without any intermediary and the former Kings summoned the Muʿayyirs whenever they wished the Mint to execute some service or commission (*rujūʿ*). Even if someone else, apart from the Mūʿayyir al-mamālik, [acted as] Ḍarrābī-bāshī ("Master of the Mint"), the right of the Mūʿayyirto appoint and dismiss (**35b**) the Ḍarrābī-bāshī (§48) and the Mushrif was considered as valid and dependable (*munāṭ va mu'tabar*?). [The right] to appoint, dismiss, punish and call to account (*bāz-khwāst*) the moneyers, engravers, coin-experts (*ṣarrāf*), drawers of gold and silver thread (*zar-kash*), masters of the Nine Shops (*dastgāh*) mentioned below, and in general all the lower staff (*ʿamala*) of the Mint, belongs specially to the Muʿayyir-bāshī and other ʿāmils can not interfere with it.[2]

(1) The foundry (*sabbākī*). The staff of this shop turn impure (*maghshūsh*) gold into pure (*khāliṣ*), and base silver (*kam-ʿayār*) into pure by putting them into crucibles (*qāl*).

(2) In the shop of *qurṣ-kūbī* the genuine bullion (*qurṣ*) is beaten (*mīkūband*) in order to produce (*sākhtan*) gold [of necessary solidity].

(3) Ditto of *āhangarī*: after the completion of the previous operations (**36a**) the gold is shaped (*shumsh*) into forged bars (*mīl-i āhangarī*).

(4) Ditto of *charkh-kashī*: after the previous operation, gold and silver are drawn through a steel plate with holes (*ḥadīda-yi fūlād*).

(5) Ditto of *qaṭṭāʿī*: where gold and silver are cut for the production of coins (*sākhtan-i nuqūd*).

1 Here perhaps with reference to the title of the Safavid Kings *Khilāfat-makīn*, f. 35a.

2 The end of the sentence comes on f. 36b, the enumeration of the nine divisions being inserted as a table.

(6) Ditto of *kahla-kūʾī*[1]: where the pieces cut from the ingot (*shumsh*) are given the thickness of an *ʿabbāsī* or of a *panj-shāhī*.

(7) Ditto of blanching (*safīd-garī*): where the surface (*chihra*) of money[2] is made refulgent (*safīd*, "whitened").

(8) Ditto of *takhsh-kunī* ("sorting"?): (**36b**) where the ʿabbāsīs which, judging by sight (*ba-mīzān-i naẓar*), are underweight are set aside and melted anew.[3]

(9) Ditto of *sikka-kunī*: where the masters striking coins are every day engaged in this work.

In accordance with the royal order, the dābits,[4] contractors (*mustaʾjirān*) and workmen (*ʿamala-va-faʿala*) throughout the God-protected kingdom, as well as the people who draw precious metals (*zar-kashān*), goldsmiths, money changers (*ṣarrāf*), inlay workers in precious metals (*zar-kūb*), coppersmiths, etc., have no right to carry out operations (*dād-u-sitad*) [in precious metals] without the Muʿayyir's knowledge, or that of his delegates, and must consider themselves as [agents] appointed and dismissed by him.[5]

The full standard (*tamām-ʿayārī*) (**37a**) of the gold coming out of the crucibles (*khalāṣ*) [must be] equal to the standard of an old *ashrafī-yi du-butī*[6]; the standard of the pure (*khalāṣī*) gold used for plating (*rū-pūsh*) silver must reach that of an old du-butī (coin). In the workshops producing (silver) thread (*naqda-sāzi*) gold used for plating is usually of 5 per cent. quality; when it is required that gold brocade (*zar-baft*) should be woven particularly rich in gold (*zarrīn-i sangīn*) the plating of the high quality is 10 per cent., and of the highest (*aʿlā-yi aʿlā*) 15 per cent.

The sign of silver of perfect standard (*kāmilʿayār*) is that, when it comes out of the melting furnace (*kūra-yi qāl*), there appear on the surface of the ingot small excrescences (*shākhcha*) in the shape of bubbles; therefore pure silver is called *shākhdār*. The perfect standard consists in the following: if 100 mithqāls (**37b**) of the shākhdār silver be melted,[7] the loss (*kasr*) does not exceed the amount of to 1 mithqāl.

The [part of the] produce (*hāṣil*) which the Ḍarrābī-bāshī [acting as?] ḍābiṭ and taḥvīldār, takes over (*ḍabṭ*) for the Royal Household (*sic*) is called *vājibī* (sei-

1 *Kahla*, "a particle of gold or silver, a coin"; *kūʾīdan*, *kūyistan*, "to beat, to thresh."

2 *Zar* means both "gold" and "silver."

3 *Mīguzārand*, read: *migudāzand*?

4 Collectors, receivers on behalf of the Treasury? Cf. 37b.

5 The text is not quite clear. Perhaps we are to understand that the Government enjoins its agents, etc., to see that goldsmiths, etc., should not trade without a licence from the Muʿayyir-bashi?

6 *Du-butī*, "with two idols"? i.e. probably with figures on both faces. Scott-Waring, *A Tour to Sheeraz*, London, 1807, Chap. XXXIII, p. 128, mentions Venetian du-butīs (each worth 6.5 piasters), and Du Mans, 33, confirms the popularity of the Venetian gold: whenever the King visited one of his subjects he was presented with "*un plat plein de Sequins, car icy ils ont fort devotion aux médaillés de Venize, mesmes toutes nos Arméniennes, par parade, s'en entourent le visage.*" [It is possible that *du-butī* is a popular etymology for *ducat*?].

7 *Biguzārand* read: *bigudāzand*, as above, f. 36b.

gnorage). The *vājibī* which was (levied) by the Divan (*sic*) department from the gold and silver minted at the Mint was formerly as follows:

gold	30 dīnārs per mithqāl
silver	2 dīnārs per mithqāl

But later (*thāniyan*) the Muʿayyirs, in order to meet the requirements (*ba-jihat-i kifāyat*) of the Dīvān department (*sic*), gradually increased the amount of the vājibī and established the practice (*istimrār*) of

gold	50 dīnārs per mithqāl
silver	5 dīnārs per mithqāl

In the year when the former (*sābiq*) Shah[1] was starting for Qazvīn the weight of an ʿabbāsī was fixed at 7 dāngs.[2] (**38a**) After his return from that journey and before the siege of Isfahan the Mūʿayyiral-mamālik Muḥammad ʿAlī-beg,[3] in order to increase (*taufīr*) [the resources of] the Divan department and the emoluments (*irtifāʿāt*) of the Private Household, after a report to the Shah, diminished the weight of the ʿabbāsī by one dāng and struck ʿabbāsī of 6 dāngs. He then added the additional 1 dang of silver to the *vājibī* (seignorage). From that date down to the ninth month of the year in which Shah Maḥmūd ascended the throne[4] the *vājibī* of the Mint, in agreement with the rule established under the former Shah, was taken over and sent [to the Treasury] (*ḍabṭ va infādh*) as follows:

minted gold	50 dīnārs per mithqāl
silver	33½ dīnārs, tasūj and 2 shaʿīrs per mithqāl

The former *vājibī* [of silver] was 5 dīnārs [and the new increase amounted to] ⅐ mithqāl, i.e. 28½ dīnārs, 1 tasūj and 2 shaʿīrs. (**38b**) When it was reported to Shāh maḥmūd that the weight of an ʿabbāsī at 6 dāngs devaluated (*bī-qadr-u-bī-vaqʿ*) the Royal currency (*sikka-yi pādshahān*), he ordered, in Ramaḍān of the year of the Hare,[5] that the ʿabbāsī should be coined by the Mint at the weight of 5 shāhīs and of 9½ dāngs,[6] and that the vājibī of gold and silver for the Private Household should be taken as below, and that the difference [in seignorage][7]

1 After the numerous failures of the Persian army in Khorasan (A.D. 1706–19), the amirs decided that the Shah himself should raise an army for the East. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn left Isfahān on 27 Rajab, 1129/7, July 1719, and arrived in Qazvīn on 27 Shaʿbān/6 August. Squabbles among the courtiers delayed his further movements for three years. He left Qazvīn on 1 Dhul-Ḥijja 1132/4 October 1720 and, after a fresh delay in Tehran, where the Vazīr-i aʿẓam Fatḥ ʿAlī khan was deposed and blinded, he returned to his capital on 29 Rabīʿ I, 1133/28 January, 1721, hardly nine months before the news came of the capture of Kerman by the Afghans, cf. *Z.T.*, ff. 203a–206a.

2 I.e. 1⅛ mithqāls

3 The *Z.T.*, f. 210a: Muḥammad ʿAlī-beg *Muʿayyir (spelt: *Muʿtamid*) al-mamālik, known as "Shanba," was attached to the person of the Heir-apparent Tahmāsp, but does not seem to have accompanied him in his escape to Qazvīn. Ḥusayn ʿAlī-beg Muʿayyir al-mamālik, who played an active role in Tahmāsp's negotiations with the future Nādir shah, cf. Mahdi-khan, *Tārikh-i Nādirī*, ed. 1286 H., p. 19, may have been a relative of Muḥammad ʿAlī-beg.

4 In Ramaḍān 1135/June, 1723, for Mahmūd ascended the throne on 11 Muharram 1135, cf. R. S. Poole, *The Coins of the Shahs*, p. xlix.

5 Ramaḍān of the lunar year 1135 (5 June–4 July, 1723).

6 I.e. having the value of 5 shāhīs and weighing 9½ dāngs.

7 Introduced at the period preceding Ramaḍān 1135.

should be eliminated:

gold	per mithqāl as before:
minted	50 dīnārs
rū-pūsh-i naqda	100 dīnārs
silver	per mithqāl:
minted	10 dīnārs
naqd (?) and silver in rings (*ḥalqa*)	16 dīnārs

For this reason the popularity (*ravāj*) of the five-shāhīs coins became such that after being struck they were carried to the outlying provinces (*ba-atrāf*) (**39a**) and they are current (*ravāj dārad*) even in the towns which have not submitted. Counterfeiting (*qullābī*) gives no profit if the coins are to be struck at this weight of metal (*zar*).

At present the coins of His Majesty (*navvāb-i kāmyāb-i aqdas-i ashraf-i aʿlā*) are: five shāhīs weighing 9½ dāng, as at the time of Shāh Maḥmūd, and gold ashrafīs struck according to the ancient norm at 4½ dāng, and God be praised, they enjoy great popularity and prestige in Isfahan and in all the outlying provinces (*aṭrāf*) of the God-protected kingdom.

During the reign of former monarchs the whole of the profits from the vājibī of the Mint [was as follows]: in the best years, when merchants brought from outside masses of *qurūsh*[1] coins and when, at the time of particular prosperity (*ʿayn-i maʿmūrī*) of Isfahan, 400 workers (**39b**), all present, were daily employed in the Nine Departments of the Mint, and the fabrication of [plated] silver thread (*naqda-sāzī?*) and copper coins (*fulūs-kārī*?) was farmed out (*ijāra*) for 500 to 600, or 700 tumans, the farm-holder,[2] on behalf of all the farm (given to him by) the Divan, used to send to the Treasury 1000 ashrafīs and 100 *dastaja-kila* (*sic*),[3] which at the [given] rate were worth 250 tumans approximately, and moreover, used to pay 350 tumans as salary to the Muʿayyir, the Darrābī-bāshī and other persons of the Private Household who were in possession of drafts (*arbāb-i ḥavālāt*). Apart from the above mentioned sum, nothing else was sent to the Treasury. From ancient times until now, one sixteenth of the sum entering[4] the Private Household has been assigned (**40a**) to the Muʿayyir al-mamālik.

§23. The the duty of the muqarrab al-khāqān Munshī al-mamālik ("State scribe") is to draw in red ink and liquid gold (*āb-i ṭalā*) the ṭughra[5] on all the King's missives (*parvānajat-i mubārak-i ashraf*) and on [documents referring] to employment, tiyūl, hama-sāla, amount of salary, as well as on the orders (*ḥukm*)

1 Turkish piastres.

2 I.e. the farm-holder of the Mint, different from the farm-holder of *naqda-sāzī* and *fulūs-hārī*?

3 Perhaps some kind of medals, or especially large coins (*muhr-i ashrafī*). Vasmer, in *Islamica*, VI/2, 1933, p. 138, refers to a 2 t. gold coin of 1101/1609 weighing 711 grains. One hundred of such coins may have been worth 250 t. on the market.

4 As seignorage.

5 The text suggests that the tughrā was not the signature of the King but one of the substitute formulas enumerated hereafter.

sent by the Dīvān-begi, in the following way:

He writes the formula *ḥukm-i jahān-muṭāʿ shud* on orders given by the Dīvān-begi [cf. f. 21b].

He writes: *farmān-i humāyūn shud* on orders for payment of money (*tankhwāh*), on applications for employment and on [orders for] tiyūl, hama-sāla and soyūrghāl of the military;

He writes: *farmān-i humāyūn sharaf-i nafādh yāft* on replies to letters (*javābnāma*), and on mithāls [cf. *infra* 72b].

The affiliation diplomas (*shajara*) of the sufis[1] and soyūrghāls granted [to them] (**40b**) are written by the Munshī al-mamālik.

In his secretariat (*dār al-inshā*) he had 28 persons subordinated to him:

1 munshī-yi dīvān,

27 scribes of the secretariat

but actually none of them is in existence.

The tracing of the ṭughrā in liquid gold and red ink is done by the pen of the Munshī al-mamālik and by no one else. He is one of the muqarrabs of the Court forming the Pivot of the World and one of the select (*bāz-yāfta*) [members] of the private and general assemblies. To his prerogatives belong: approval of employment and salaries of the scribes (*muḥarrir*) and rédacteurs (*munshī*) of the secretariat, and [appreciation] of their manners (*ahliyat*) and capacities. In the times of [the former] sovereigns the State Secretaries were beloved and respected and possessed various accomplishments (**41a**).

§24. So far as it appears from the register of the former muqarrab al-khāqān the Keeper of the august Seal (*muhrdār-i muhr-i humāyun*), in olden times, he possessed a tiyūl on the district of Qum, etc., first to an amount of 364 tumans, and later 1360 tumans and 5361 dīnārs. Sometimes the tiyūl was suspended (*ḍabṭ*) and, in its place, some governorship (*iyālat-va-ḥukūmat*) was given to the Muhrdār; at other times the office was given in the usual way without a tiyūl. At present the Cynosure of the World (*qibla-yi ʿālam*) has granted the office, under the previous conditions, to the muqarrab al-khāqān (**41b**) Allāh-dād beg. [The Keeper's] functions are considered among the great posts, and he is [admitted] to sit in the King's Paradisiac company.

In olden times the duty of the Muhrdār was to appose the August Seal of which he was the keeper, to the raqams [by which] vazīrs, mustaufīs and kalāntars [were appointed] and those referring to soyūrghāls, exemptions (immunities) and tiyūls, given to amirs, governors, etc.,—after these documents had been registered in the books. He apposed the seal inside (?) the raqam in a corner of the title.[2]

Of late (*dar avākhir*) this rule (*ḍābiṭa*)[3] has not been maintained (*maḍbūt*)

1 Cf. §19. *Shajara* is a document establishing the chain of murshids through which the sufi has received his instruction.

2 *Ba-muhr-i thabt-i muhr-i humāyün…dar ḍimn-i arqām dar-gūsha-yi ʾinvān muhr mīnumūda.*

3 This sentence belongs to the beginning of the paragraph where the Muhrdār's emoluments are described.

and the Keeper of the Seal seems to (*balkī*) have been collecting his fees (*rusūm*) as a registration fee (*taṣdiq-i daftarī*) [cf. §98].

§25. On the functions of the muqarrab al-khāqān (**42a**) the Keeper of the "sharaf-i nafādh" Seal.

His duty is to appose the small (*kūchik*) seal called *sharaf-i nafādh* ("[for] the honour of legalisation") opposite the August seal, in the inside corner of the raqams and orders,[1] appointing amirs, vazīrs, mustaufīs, lashkar-nivīses and all the major and minor officials at the Exalted Camp (*ordū*) or in the God-protected provinces of Iran.

Even though (*chinānchi*), in order to escape (*mudāfaʿa*) the payment of established fees, the officials had not presented their letters-patent (*raqam-i mansab*) to be sealed by the Keepers[2] of the Seal, the latter [used to obtain] from the register (*sar-rishta*) of the Taujih Division (*dafātir-i taujīh*, v.i., 69b) of the Supreme Divan exact statements (*mushakhkhas va muʿayyan*) with regard to the established fees [belonging to] them, give these statements to the Division of Drafts issued by the Divan (*ba-qalam-i arbāb-i ḥavālat-i dīvānī*) and receive the equivalent from the sums allotted [to the said officials] (*vujūh-i muʿayyana*). [In this way], whether the letters-patent were sealed by the seal (**42b**) kept by the Muhrdār, or not, the latter collected his permanent (*mustamarrī*) fees.

The fees (*rusūm*) of the Keeper of the Small Seal are as follows: in the guise (*ba-ṣīgha*) of "the dūshulluk of 835 dīnārs [per tuman?] levied [on salaries] during the first year" he collected (*qabḍ-va-akhdh*):

From what is levied on the letters-patent of valis, governors and other major and minor officials of the God-protected province: 303 qāz-begī[3] per toman;

From soyūrghāls and exemptions: 520 dinars per toman.

In the subsequent years—as also in the case of the August Seal (§24),—the dūshulluk is no longer levied (*mujaddadī na-dārad*).

§26. On the functions of the muqarrab al-khāqān Inkhorn Holder of the Seal of the Sun-like Signet-Ring (*davātdār-i muhr-i angushtar-i āftāb-āthār*).

While the Vāqiʿa-nivīs[4] traces a ṭughrā on the *bayādī* and *daftarī* raqams, this official presents them to the seal called "mihr-āthār"[5] (**43a**). His yearly salary is 30 tumans and, for the amount corresponding to his 6 months' pay, he enjoys a tiyūl.[6] He also receives fees of 100 dinars per tuman of the estimated (*bar-āvardī*)

1 *Gūsha-yi ḍimn-i arqām-rā dar barābar-i muhr-i humāyūn ba-muhr-i kūchik-i sharaf-i nafādh muhr numāyad*. Cf. Aappendices IV (a).

2 Perhaps only §25 is meant here.

3 1 qāz-begī = 5 dīnārs = ⅒ chāhī = ½₀₀₀ toman, Chardin, IV, 182.

4 We cannot say whether this category of documents was different from that on which the Munshi al-mamālik, f. 40a, drew his tughrās. It is possible that there were documents endorsed both by the Vāqiʿa-nivīs and the Munshī al-mamālik.

5 Cf. f. 9a.

6 But see §102.

income (*madākhil*) of the amirs, governors, etc., during the first year of their appointment; from the raqams giving employment he collects a dūshulluk of 50 dinars per tuman; from the raqams referring to payment of cash or to leases (*ijāra*) he receives 25 dinars per tuman. In public (*ʿāmm*) assemblies he stands (*īstāda mīshavad*) in the row of the *qūrchiyān-i yarāq*, next to the senior (*qadīmī?*) davātdār, who is the Davātdār-i parvānajāt (§27).

§27. On the functions of the muqarrab al-khāqān Inkhorn Holder of the raqams, ḥukms and parvānas on which the ʿālī-jāh Munshī al-mamālik traces (**43b**) a Ṭughrā. The function of apposing seal to these documents belongs to the said Keeper of the Inkhorn. He has a salary of 30 tumans and a tiyūl to the amount of 6 months' [pay].[1] From the raqams giving employment he receives a dūshulluk of 50 dinars [per tuman]; from those referring to payment of cash (tankhwāh) and passing through the Division of State (*sarkār-i mamālik*), as well as from the leases (*ijāra*) of the same department he also receives officially (*ẓāhir*, "openly") half-a-shāhī per tuman. At the assemblies he stands in the row of the qūrchiyān-i yarāq, next to the qūrchī-yi sadaq (?), where the Keeper of the Small Seal (§25)[2] used to stand as well (*īstāda mīshud*).

Division B: The muqarrab al-hadrats.

It is subdivided into two categories (*ṣinf*). Category (*a*) contains four paragraphs (*faṣl*) (**44a**).

§28. The muqarrab al-ḥaḍrat Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī of the Honourable Harem.

This office is entrusted to men of older age and service (*pīrtar va qadīmītar*), enjoying more respect at the Royal Court and endowed with qualities of prudence (*salāḥ*), piety (*tadayyun*) and truthfulness. This official used to remain day and night at the gate of the Harem. The gate-keepers (*qāpūchī*) and eshīk-āqāsīs of the Harem are his subordinates and follow his orders. The keeping of order (*nasaq*) in the Harem, and commands and prohibitions (*amr-va-marʿ-va nahy*) to strangers and outsiders belong specially to the competence of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī-yi ḥaram. He confirms the salary and employment of his above-mentioned subordinates.

§29. (**44b**) The Yasāvulān-i ṣuḥbat ("Aides-de-camp") could be only the sons of respected amirs and, in olden times, they were but 8 or 9 in number. In private assemblies, they function on behalf (*ba-jā*) of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī, and, in public assemblies, they stand opposite (*barābar*) the Sovereign, while the actual duties (*khidmat*) are carried by the Eshīk-āqāsīs. They are under the orders of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī of the Supreme Divan who confirms their salary and employment.

§30. The group of the Eshīk-āqāsī-yi majlis ("Ushers of the assemblies") consists of sons of amirs or of other respected gentlemen (*āqāyān*), worthy

1 But see §101.

2 Is it a mistake for the official mentioned in §26?

(*liyāqat*) to serve in the King's presence (**45a**). They (?) serve at public assemblies and are under the orders of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī of the Divan who confirms their salary and employment and gives them instructions as to what to do and what not to do (*amr-va-nahy*).

§31. The Qāpūchīs ("Gate-keepers"). Among them there are two appointed Head Gate-keepers: the Qāpūchī-bāshī of the Divan and the Qāpūchī-bāshī of the Private apartments (*khalvat*); each has a large staff. The Head Gate-keeper of the Divan controls the Daulat-khāna-yi maydān ("State-rooms overlooking the Square"), the side adjoining the Kitchen and the side of the Four-ponds (*Chahār-ḥauḍ*), while the Head Gate-keeper of the Khalvat [controls] the Private apartments.[1] They and their staff are under the orders of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī of the Divan who confirms their salary and employment and gives them instructions as to what to do and what not to do (**45b**).

Each yasāvul-i ṣuḥbat, or eshīk-āqāsī, is styled *muqarrab al-haḍrat*.

Category (*b*) refers to the Ṣāḥib-jamʿān-i buyūtāt ("Heads of services in the Buyūtāt, i.e. in the departments of the Royal Household"), and has eighteen paragraphs (*faṣl*) and two *ḍābiṭas* ("headings").

(α) First Ḍābiṭa: on the functions of the Ṣāḥib-jamʿs ("Heads of Departments") of the Royal Treasury and other Buyūtāt (Departments, Workshops).

Briefly, their business is as follows: whatever the Mushrifs may estimate as necessary for the yearly expenditure (*ikhrājāt*) of their workshops, both as regards cash and goods (*jins*), is put down by the Ṣāḥib-jamʿs in a specification (*tafsīl*) or a report (*ʿarīḍa*) which they bring to the Nāẓir of the Buyūtāt. After a proper enquiry has been made, and the deficit (*bāqī*) and surplus (*fāḍil*) of everything have been ascertained, (**46a**) the Vazīr of the Buyūtāt, on behalf of the Nāẓir, writes a report to the Grand Vazir, and, in conformity with the taʿlīqa endorsed (*raqam*) by the latter, the Ṣāḥib-jamʿs of the workshops prepare receipts (*qabḍ*) and receive the sums (due to them). So long as the receipts of the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ have not received the signatures (*khaṭṭ*) of the Vazīr of the Buyūtāt (§50) and the Mustaufī of the Arbāb-i tahāvīl (§51), as well as the seal of the Nāẓir, nothing is issued on their presentation (*taḥvīl baīshān dāda namīshavad*).

(β) Second Ḍābiṭa: on the functions of the Ṣāḥib-jamʿs of the Royal Buyūtāt, in 16 paragraphs.

§32. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Royal Treasury [has the title] of muqarrab al-khāqān (v.s., f. 31a). All the cash sums (*anqad-i vujūhāt*?) of the God-protected provinces and of the capital (**46b**), Isfahan, belonging to the Divan Department were remitted to this Ṣāḥib-jamʿ. If some of the governors (*ʿummāl va hukkām*), or agents (*mubāshir*) of the State revenue (*māliyāt*) were late with the sums to be sent (*vujūh-i infādhī*) to the Treasury, the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Treasury delegated (*muhaṣṣil*) to his subordinates the recovery (*vusūl*) of the said sums and sent them to the provinces. When the sums due (*vujūh-i taḥvīlī*) were recovered,

1 The *daulat-khana-yi maydān* seems to refer to the hall above the ʿĀlī (*ala*, "motley, gay")-qapu Gate (v.s., f. 4a).

he took delivery of them (*abvāb-jamʿ-i khud*). As regards the revenue (*vujūh-i māliya*) from the Isfahan guilds (*aṣnāf*) and contributions (*madad*) to the cost of [government] hospitality, 3000 tomans in all, the Grand Vazirs Muḥammad Muʿmin khan and Shāh-quli khan,[1] each in the time of his office (*ʿamal*), entrusted their collection to the chief of their staff (*tābīn-bāshī*). Then Āqā Kamāl Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Treasury presented a report to the former sovereign and deputed his trustee (*muʿtamad*) Hājjī Mahdī-khan (**47a**), who every year collected the whole amount and sent it to the Treasury. Equally to be remitted to [the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ] were the more valuable objects (*anfas-i ajnās*) of the Royal Household, such as jewels, precious textiles and presents consisting of books, sable marten (*samūr*) furs, gold embroideries and other rare (*tuḥfa*) objects.

The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Treasury enjoys great esteem and power, and the Keeper of the Keys of the Treasury is also one of the respected eunuchs of the palace (v.s., f. 31a).

§33. On the *jabbā-khāna* (arsenal). The Jabbā-dār-bāshī is one of the Ṣāḥib-jamʿs of high rank. All the lower staff (*ʿamala*) of the Jabbā-khāna is under his orders and, [as] senior officer of the department, he approves (*tajvīz*) the salary and employment of each member of the staff (**47b**). The Mushrif of the Jabbā-khāna is also a respected officer; all the sums remitted (*taḥvīlī*) to the munitions stores (*qūr-khāna*), arms and implements of war (*ālāt-va-adavāt-i ḥarb*), bejewelled or plain, lead and powder, must be delivered to the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ with the knowledge (*iṭṭilāʿ-vasar-rishta*) of the Mushrif of the department. The Jabbā-dār-bāshī appoints keepers (*taḥvīldār*) for all kinds of munitions (*ajnās-i qūr-khāna*) kept in the Jabbā-khāna of Khāh (?), in that of Erīvān, and in other provincial fortresses possessing munition dumps (*qūr-khāna*), and the provincial governors comply with (his requests) and treat him with due regard (*tamkīn va tauqīr*). The Jabbā-dār-bāshī is one of the highest muqarrabs and dignitaries of the court.

§34. The muqarrab al-ḥaḍrat Ṣāḥib-jamʿ (**48a**) of the Royal (*khāṣṣa*) Tailoring Department (*qaychājī-khāna*). His duties are such as are explained below under two points (*dafʿa*).

(a) The first point is on the supply (*taḥvīl*) of goods which concern the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ in question, and among which are His Majesty's own (*khāṣṣagī*) garments. The procedure is as follows: the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Royal Treasury delivers to the Royal (*khāṣṣa*) Qaychāchī-khāna the precious textiles chosen for the cutting (*qaṭʿ*) of garments in the Private Household. At the hour fixed by the Chief Astronomer (§21) and reported by him to His Majesty, the head tailor, in the presence of a trustee (*muʿtamad*) of the ʿālī-jāh Nāẓir, of the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Tai-

1 Riḍā-qulī khan in his *Supplement* to the *Rauḍat al-ṣafā*, jild viii, enumerates Sulṭān-Ḥusāyn's Grand Vazirs in the following order: 1. Shāh-qulī khan, son of the famous Kurdish Grand Vazir to Shāh Sulaymān, Shaykh-ʿAlī khan Zangana; 2. Muḥammad Muʿmin khan Shāmlū; 3. Mīrzā Ṭāhir Vaḥīd, author of a history of ʿAbbās ii, who seems to have retired in 1120/1708 (?), see Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 41a; 4. Fatḥ-ʿAlī khan Dāghestānī b. Alqās-mīrzā b. Ildirim khan Shamkhāl, blinded on 7 Safar 1133/8, December, 1720, see *Z.T.*, 205b; and 5. Muḥammad-qulī khan Shāmlū who previously held the office of Qurchi-bashi and who accompanied the Shah to the Afghan camp on 11 Muḥarram 1134/23, October, 1782.

loring Department and of the Mushrif, begins cutting (*qaṭʿ*). Finally (*ḥāsil*) the clothes are sewn (**48b**) and, together with the other finished clothes kept in the said department, are placed in the care (*taḥvīl*) of the above-mentioned Ṣāḥib-jamʿ. The same applies to the textiles [which are destined] to be given as inʿāms, or as robes of honour (*khalʿat*), and to those acquired by purchase. The procedure of purchasing textiles in the said department is as follows: the Nāẓir convokes experts and, with their help (*vuqūf*, "knowledge") fixes the prices and has them seal the lists of prices (*qīmat-nāmcha*). On the strength of this document the purchase is registered (*qalamī gardīd*). By this method the prices of Kāshān stuffs etc., are established; a receipt (*qabḍ al-vāṣil*) is written and included in the lists of goods to be sent [to the capital] (*ḍimn-i tavāmīr-i *infādh*) and [the sum] is credited to the vazirs and governors (*ba-kharj-i vuzarā mujrā mīgardad*). Precious (*sangīn*) stuffs (**49a**), as occasion arises (*ba-munasābat*), are also placed in the care of the same Department. The robes (*qabā*) which are tailored for the great amirs as "precious khalʿats" and have the significance of a qabā that has been worn by the king (*ḥukm-i qabā-yi pūshīda dārad*)[1] are also kept in this Department. The same applies to sable-marten (*samūr*) furs and to "londra."[2]

(b) The second point is on the subordinates of the said Ṣāḥib-jamʿ:

tailor	ironer (*utū-kash*)
stocking-maker (*jūrāb-dūz*)	cotton carder (*ḥallāj*)
maker of trousers (*chaqshūr-dūz*)	cleaner (*ṣāf-kun*)
sewer of londra	hat-maker

§35. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Amirs' Tailoring Department (*qaychāchī-khānayi umaraʾī*). His duties and the rules (*ḍābiṭa*) of his Department are as follows. The robes of honour which are given to governors, vazirs, kalāntars, mīnbāshīs and yūz-bāshīs, as well as to other persons not having an amīral status, (**49b**) and which are tailored in Kāshān and Iṣfahan are deposited (*taḥvīl*) in the said Department. If a qabā, or an overcoat (*bālāpūsh*) have been granted as a robe of honour (*khalʿat*), the rule is that whoever has heard the oral order (*mushāfaha*) from the King, writes a petition to the Grand Vazir. After this petition has been endorsed (*raqam*) by the [Grand] Vazir, [subsequently to] the approved (*tajvīz*) of the Nāẓir, the said garments are issued from the above mentioned Department. When it is intended to grant someone a coronet of honour (*tāj-i vahhāj*) the latter is prepared in the said Department out of gold braid (?) on a gold lining (*az zarbaft-i būm-i zar*?), etc.; then it is taken delivery of (*jamʿ*) by the said Department and (finally) issued [to the grantee].

§36. The duties of the Farrāsh-bāshī-[yi] Mashʿaldār-bāshī[3] are resumed under two points (**50a**):

1 A robe "from His Majesty's shoulders."

2 Du Mans, 248: *londéré*, and Chardin, vii, 367: *londra*, explained as "English cloth." In Johnson's Persian Dictionary: "red cloth." The name is derived from *London*, Italian *Londra*.

3 This Persian construction seems to mean: "The farrāsh-bāshī who is the mashʿaldār-bāshī." Consequently the officer was in charge of furniture and lighting. But v.i., §44 and §45.

(a) The objects in his care (*taḥvīlāt*) are:

carpets and rugs
felt cushions and mattresses
tents with accessories
tallow burners (*pih-sūz*)
candlesticks
napkins of tambour work(*sūzanī*?)
wax
candles
melted tallow
soap
ropes
tape (*navār*)
flimsy (?) felts of different colours[3]
tapestry woven carpets (*gilīm*)
brown (*būr*) felts
mīlak ("tacks"?)
mithqālī (cotton stuff?)[1]
chintz (*chīt*)
dālbur (?)
londra (English cloth)
copper basins (*tasht*)
window paper (*kāghaz-i panjara*)
glue (*sirīsh*)
paper lanterns (*fānūs*)
mūchak-dān (?)[2]
yurt-hā-yi chūbī(felt huts on wooden frames?)
kajāva (travelling boxes), with their covers

(b) The staff under the Farrāsh-bāshī:

tent-makers
sewers of *londra*
lamp lighters
candle lighters
farrāshes
box makers (*sandūq-sāz*)

§37. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ-i mīva-khāna, etc., is in charge of products (*ajnās*) appertaining to the Fruitery Department: melons (**50b**), cucumbers, grapes, pomegranate juice, tamarind, greens (*sabzī*), apricots and any other fruit, as well as of vessels (*ẓurūf*) of gold, silver and copper, in the numbers required. The delivery of products is taken (*bāz-yāft*) as explained under the Ḥavīj-khāna.[4] The expenditure both fixed and additional is also according to the rules of the Ḥavīj-khāna.

§38. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ-i ghānāt ("Butchery Department").[5] Any sheep brought [to the department] must be slaughtered in the presence of the Nāẓir's delegate: their meat, fat tails, raw grease, heads, feet, liver and skin are all taken delivery of and registered (*taḥvīl-va-ḍabṭ*). Whenever there are no sheep in the department, and they have to be bought from the market, the purchase is made [on the basis] of the monthly price as fixed (*tasʿīr*) by the Ṣāḥib-nasaq, the Muḥtasib al-mamālik and the elders of the guild (**51a**) and certified by the Nāẓir's seal—lest the Divan should sustain any loss. As regards lambs and whatever is necessary for the consumption of the Private Household and servants, the Master (*ustād?*) of the butchers submits a list of prices [for delivery] by contract (*baqayd-i iltizām*), so that the expenditure be made accordingly.

§39. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ-i ābdār-khāna (Department of refreshing drinks), etc., in charge of decanters (*tunǧ*), drinking-bowls (*jām-i ābkhurī*) made of gold

1 Translated tentatively. Cf. Russian Миткаль, "calico."

2 "Holder for whisks"?

3 *Nantad-i t.nka* (?)*-yi alvān*. *Tunuk*, "thin, flimsy." In the special sense *tunuka* means "short trousers worn by wrestlers," probably so called on account of their material.

4 This § is left out in the text, but cf. §144.

5 Evidently: *ghan* = *qan*, in Turkish "blood," cf. Kaempfer, 123.

or silver (*az ālāt-i talā va nuqra*?), etc., washing bowls (*maṭhara*), *ḥusaynī* (leather bottles), bags for carrying snow, utensils appertaining to ice-stores, pails [etc.].

§40. The material in charge of the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ-i shutur-khān (Camel Stables) consists of horse blankets (*jut*), saddle cloths (*takaltū*), bags (**51b**), felts, halters (*afsār*), cords (*rīsmān*), etc. Once a year the Nāẓir, jointly with the Vazir of the Buyūtāt considers the camels and gives his opinion on them (*nīk-u bad mīnumāyad*) (cf, f. 56a). When a camel dies it is written off (*kharj*) from the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ's register with a mention of its brand (*tamqā*). The latter is impressed with a hot iron (*ba-ātash*) in the Nāẓir's presence.

§41. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Coffee Department has in his charge coffee pots of gold, silver, copper, *qarā-āftāba* (?), coffee roasters (*qahva-biryān-kun*), cups (*piyāla*) and trays.

§42. The inventory entrusted to the care of the Keeper[1] of the Royal Buildings consists of carpets, cushions, felts, jājīms, curtains for niches (**52a**). The beating and sweeping of carpets is the duty of the Sarāy-dārs.

§43. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Rikāb-khāna ("Master of the Robes") keeps the linen (*rukhūt*) of the Royal bath-house with its accessories. His Majesty's blankets, cushions (*nāzbālish*), bolsters (*pushtī*) and clothes, travelling bags made of calf skin (*mafrash-i ṭalāṭīn*)[2] in which the servants' paraphernalia are packed on a journey, shoes (*kafsh*), top-boots (*chakma*), socks, prayer carpets (*jānamāz*) and their accessories.

§44. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Lighting Department (*mashʿal-khāna*)[3] and the Music band (*naqqāra-khāna*) keeps torch-holders (*mashāʿil*) made of gold, silver and copper, fat of sheeps' tails (*dunba*), tallow, lamp oil, melted fat (*jizghāla*), wicks (*navāla*),[4] large kettledrums (*kūs*), small kettledrums (*naqqāra*), long trumpets (*karranā*), straight trumpets (*nafīr*), oboes (*surnā*) (**52b**) and the accessories of the band. The staffs of the band and of the lighting department are under the Mashʿaldar-bashi's orders, and yearly receive (*bāz-yāft*) their salary on the basis of the roll (*tūmār-i sān*), which has been sealed by the Nāẓir and approved by the Iʿtimād al-daula's raqam.

§45. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the of the Storehouse (*anbār*)[5] keeps barley, straw, clover (*yūnja*) and grass of cereals (*qaṣīl*?)[6] destined for the fodder (*ʿalīq*) of the stable (animals) and of the caravan of mules (*qaṭār-i astarān*), as well as horse blankets (*jul*), light covers (*pirāhan*), saddle-girths (*tang*), halters (*afsār*), **qapturgha* bags,[7] hobbles (*pā-band*), buckets, horse-shoes, nails, lariats

1 *Taḥvīldārān* must be interpreted as referring to one single officer.

2 The word *ṭalāṭīn*, also found in Ottoman Turkish, is of Russian origin телята, "calves."

3 V.i., p. 169, on the confusion in the duties of §36 and §44.

4 *Navāla* means either "a portion of food" or "a wad." Here probably it refers to pieces of cotton burning as a wick in oil or tallow.

5 Or *Anbārdār-bāshī*.

6 Chardin, iii, 374: "*herbe légère et pleine d'eau pour purger les animaux au printemps.*"

7 Spelt: *q.nt.rgha*. Undoubtedly **qapturgha*, "a large and deep bag," see Radloff, *Versuch*, ii, 428. In Mongolian, *qapturgha* means "a pocket," see *Muqaddimat al-adab*, ed. Poppe, 285;

(*kamand*), shovels (*pārū*), felt for covers, nose-bags (*tūbra*) and the lighting material of the stables.

§46. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Stables (*iṣṭabl*) (**53a**) is in charge of the horses, mules and asses of the department.

§47. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the King's Sharbat-khāna is in charge of the belongings of the department: vessels of gold, silver, china, glazed ware (*kāshī*) and copper, as well as crystal sugar, candy sugar (*qand*), medicinal herbs (*ʿaqāqīr*), coffee, tobacco, glass; tops, tubes (*sar-va-nay*) and other accessories of hookas; *halīla* (myrobolam), *āmula* (embilica officinalis) and other preserves (*murabbāyāt*); lemon-juice, rose water, etc., spirits (*ʿaraq*?), pickles (*turshī*), perfumes, etc. With regard to the allowance (*mūqarrarī*) of the Private Household, (Royal) attendants (*khādim*),[1] muqarrabs and [other] staff entitled to daily rations (*jīra-khwār*), the said Ṣāḥib-jamʿ, in his daily expenditure, follows (*mujrā*) the norm originally established (*rūz-i avval sanad-i maḥkūm-bihi shuda bāshad*) (**53b**). Whatever additional expenditure he may have daily, is effected (*mujrā*) by a voucher which every day is to be rendered operative (*maḥkūm-bihi*), and without a voucher he does [*not] put anything down to his expenditure.

§48. The Ḍarrābī-bāshī, "Master of the Mint" (cf. §22), must see that the moneyers (*ḍarrābi-hā-yi sikka-zan*) strike coins (*sikka-kāri numāyand*?) according to the standards (*dastūr*) established for the ashrafī and ʿabbāsī, so that these coins should possess no defects and no one of the Mint staff (*ḍarrābiyān*) should tamper (*khiyānat*) with them. He must be on the look-out and, wherever a forgery occurs, inform the Ṣāḥib-nasaq. In case of minor offences he makes an enquiry (Bāz-khwāst) and punishes the offender, but if the offence is a major one and necessitates a report (*gunjāyish-i ʿarḍ*), (**54a**) he presents a report to His Majesty (*nawāb-i humāyūn*) and what the latter decrees (*muqarrar*) is carried out by the Dīvān-begi. He must also see that *naqda* should be produced nowhere except at the Mint, and not tolerate that coins (should) be struck of debased metal (*zar*). The Darrābī-bāshī is the keeper (*taḥvīldār*) of the sums belonging to the Divan: the Mushrif of the Mint, by the order and with the knowledge of the Muʿayyir al-mamālik, remits (*abvāb-jamʿ*) the amount of *vājibī* ("royalties") to the Darrābī-bāshī. Daily he[2] presents his day-book (*rūz-nāmcha*) to the Muʿayyir al-mamālik [who?] every month confirms the state of his accounts (*ḥisāb-i ū-rā "ḥasab al-vāqi'" tashkhīṣ dihad*). The scribe (*nivīsanda*), whom the Muʿayyir al-mamālik (**54b**) appoints as a colleague (*ham-qalam*) to the Mushrif, checks [the accounts] in order that there may be no discrepancy as to the sums remitted to the Ḍābiṭ[3] and that the Treasury may sustain no loss. Appointment and dismissal of the Mint staff and the mushrifs is a prerogative of the Muʿayyir al-mamālik (cf. f. 35b).

ibid., 444: *qaftarghan*, "a bag" (after Ibn-Muhannā).

1 Perhaps "eunuchs." But see above, f. 30a.

2 The Ḍarrābī-bāshī?

3 I.e. the Ḍarrābī-bāshī himself, acting as a Collector of the sums due to the Government, cf. f. 37b.

§49. The duty of the Ṣarrāf-bāshī of the Royal Treasury is as follows. When the ashrafīs and silver (*zar-i safīd*) are brought to the Treasury from the provinces or (in payment of) taxes (*vujūhāt*), the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ [of the Treasury] (§32) takes delivery (*bāz yāft?*) of them, while the Ṣarrāf-bāshī and the sarrāfs, in the presence of the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ, the Mushrif and the payer (*muʾaddī*), or the latter's delegate, examine and sort (*sarrāfī*) [the coins]. They place them in bags which they seal and remit to the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ. The money [may then] be issued for any expenditure under orders (**55a**). Whatever gold (and silver) coins prove to be false or of weak quality (*zabūn*), are put aside and handed (*taslīm*) to the owner.

CHAPTER IV

ON FINANCIAL OFFICERS [AND SECRETARIES]

The chapter consists of two divisions (*maqṣad*).

DIVISION I.—On the functions of the Vazir of the Buyūtāt, the Mustaufi of the Keepers (*arbāb-i taḥāvīl*) and the Mushrifs of the Royal Buyūtāt. It is subdivided into three paragraphs.

§50. The duty of the ʿālī-ḥaḍrat Vazīr of the Buyūtāt is as follows: whatever expenditure (*ikhrājāt*) occurs in the Workshops (*kār-khānajāt*) of the Royal Private Household (*khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*), the subordinates of [the Nāẓir],[1] under the latter's instructions (*qadaghan*), present to the Vazir daily, weekly and monthly vouchers and day-books, relative to the said expenditure (**55b**). The Vazir, jointly with a scribe who draws his salary from the Private Household, collates and checks (*muqābala-va-muvāzana*) the documents and, [if he] is satisfied (*khavāṭir-jamʿ numūda*), endorses them (*khaṭṭ guzāshta*)[2] and presents them to the Nāẓir's seal, so that no delay prejudicial to the Private Household occurs in the writing (*nivishtan*) of the day-books and vouchers. On the days of festivals (*aʿyād*) or assemblies, the Nāẓir confirms [how] much food, sherbet (*afshura*), turshī, etc., should be prepared for consumption and the Vazir of the Buyūtāt considers [the list], makes his reckonings, takes a copy [of the list] and keeps it (*ḍabṭ*) until the voucher arrives, to see that there should be no more expenditure mentioned than what was really supplied (*āvarda-and*).

When some transaction (*dād-va-sitad*) takes place in the Buyūtāt (**56a**), so long as the paper has not been endorsed by the said Vazir, the Nāẓir does not appose his seal to it. Without the Vazir's presence, the Nāẓir does not revise the rolls of the lower staff (*sān-i ʿamala*), examine the camels (cf. §40) or fix the value of the textiles sent [to the Court, **infādhī*]. The price of the goods, textiles, etc., purchased in Isfahān for the Buyūtāt is fixed by the Nāẓir in the presence of the Vazir of the Buyūtāt and of the experts. Were the Nāẓir to associate someone else

1 *tavābīn-i mushār-ilayh*, evidently of the Nāẓir, not of the Vazir.

2 Initials them?

with the Vazir in [the discharge of] the latter's duties, this would be considered an abuse (*khiyānat*), violence (*taqallub*) and encroachment (*taṣarruf dāshta khāhad būd*). The salaries of the Buyūtāt staff, as the latter appears at the roll-call (*dar-sān*), is given on the basis of the schedules (*tūmār*) endorsed (*khaṭṭ*) by the Vazir of the Buyūtāt, sealed (**56b**) by the Nāẓir and [confirmed] by the I'timād al-daula's raqam. Those of the staff who happen to be on missions or on leave, after their return, receive the salary according to the statement (*kayfiyāt*) which, as usual (*ba-dastūr*), has passed through the [three instances], namely, *tajvīz*, *raqam* and *khaṭṭ*.[1]

§51. The business of the Mustaufi of the Keepers (*arbāb-i taḥāvīl*) is to keep a clear register (*sar-rishta-yi munaqqah*) of any cash, gold and silver objects, objects set with jems, sable-marten furs, textiles, garments, camels, horses and goods which, for some reason, are entrusted to the Ṣāḥib-jam's, so that the Dīvān property should sustain no loss. Every month he collects the Mushrifs' day-books (**57a**) and in the form used in the keepers' registers (*ba tarḥ-i sar-rishta-yi arbāb-i taḥāvīl*) draws up an account (*muḥāsaba*) to (*bar*) the Ṣāḥib-jam's. Following the rules of accountancy (*qānūn-i ḥisāb*) he ascertains the debit and credit (*bāqī-va-fāḍil*), and without the Nāẓir's seal, does not legalise anyone's expenditure (*chīzī ba-kharj-i aḥadī nanivīsad*).

§52. The duty of the Mushrifs of the Royal Buyūtāt is to keep up to date the day-books and vouchers of their respective workshops, for any delay (*pas-andāzad*) in the preparation of the day-books may cause great prejudice to the Private Household. If the Ṣāḥib-jam's and the delegates [laying up stocks?] (*muḥaṣṣil*) fail to present [the accounts] of expenditure and vouchers to the Mushrifs, the latter must inform the Nāẓir of the Buyūtāt who then appoints someone to bring the vouchers to them. Without a voucher the Mushrifs (**57b**) must not, under any pretext (*zabānī*), include in the day-books any single dīnār or any single maund of goods. The vouchers endorsed or sealed by a non-competent person (*ghayr-i ṣāḥib-kār*) must be sent back. So long as a Ṣāḥib-jam' has still (*pīsh-dāshta*) a credit (*bāqī*) of money or goods [on his account], that sum or account must not be included in next year's estimate (*bar-āvard*).[2]

DIVISION II.—On the functions of the vazirs and mustaufis of the Royal Secretariat (*daftar-khāna*), who are in charge of the income (*jam'*) and expenditure, and on those of the Dārūgha, 'azab-bāshī, etc. Divided into 20 paragraphs.

§53. The duties of the muqarrab al-ḥaḍrat al-'aliyya al-'āliya Nāẓir of the Royal Supreme Secretariat (*daftar-khāna-yi humāyūn-a'lā*) are to seal after verification: raqams referring to employment (**58a**), subventions (*madad-i ma'āsh*), exemptions (*mu'āfī*), soyūrghāls, pensions (*vaẓā'if*), orders (*ḥukm*) for hama-sāla, tiyūl and cash (*tankhwāh*) of the whole of the government staff

1 Logical order: *khaṭṭ*, *tajvīz*, *raqam*.

2 I.e. his credit for the next year is diminished by that amount?

(*ʿasākir*)[1] as well as raqams for the appointment of officials, and the single sheets[2] of the accounts (*afrād-i muḥāsabāt*) of the ʿāmils in all the God-blessed provinces, through whatever office they may pass. And also to clear (*mafrūgh*) the accounts [received by] all the provincial ʿāmils from vazirs, stewards (*mutaṣaddī*), tenants (*mustaʿjir*), collectors (*ḍabiṭān*) and agents (*mubāshir*) of the Divan revenue (*māliyāt*). This is the special occupation of the said Nāẓir.

He used to have nine scribes of the Divan staff, of whom eight registered and endorsed (*khaṭṭ*) the raqams, orders (*ḥukm*) for hama-sāla and payments of cash, as well as certificates (*taṣdīqāt*) for (?) hama-sāla, etc. (**58b**), which pass through various departments. The ninth scribe (§126?), after verification, endorses accounts, raqams, orders and certificates and traces *shud*[3] on them as they pass [through the office].

§54. The duties of the Dārūgha of the Secretariat (*daftar-khāna*) are to maintain order (*nasaq*) in the whole of the Secretariat and [if necessary] to punish the ʿazabs (§68) and other lower staff (*ʿamala*) of the Secretariat. Claims and disputes (*daʿvā*) between the said staff must be settled in his presence. He used to seal the inside[4] of all the orders and raqams relative to appointments, cash, tiyūl, and hama-sāla, as well as the raqams of employment of all the [ranks of] the victorious army (*ʿasākir-i manṣūra*), as well as the receipts (*vaṣl*) of raqams and orders. He used to prosecute (*pāy-i ḥisab mīyāvard*) all the ʿāmils of the Dīvān (**59a**), such as vazirs, contractors, eābihs, mutagaddīs and mubāshirs of State revenue whose accounts are cleared (*tafrīgh*) and verified (*tasḥīh*) by the Nāẓir of the Secretariat (§53).

§55. The duty of the Vazir of the Qurchis Department is to seal the statements (*kayfiyāt*) and certificates concerning the presence [of the qurchis on duty] and [their] service on campaigns, as well as the records (*nuskhajāt*) which the Sipahsālārs and Sardārs used to issue with regard to the veterans of the staff (*mulāziman-i qadīmī*, cf. f. 44a). After the issue of the raqam of the Grand Vazir and the approval (*tajvīz*) of the Qūrchī-bāshī,[5] an endorsement was made in the Qurchi Department that [the order] should become operative (*maʿmūl*) without hindrance (*māniʿ*). The vazirs also endorsed the rest of the statements (*kayfiyāt*) of the said Department (**59b**) regarding the qūrchis, yūz-bāshī, yasāvulān-i qūr, etc., and kept (*ḍabṭ*) the rolls (*ṭavāmīr*), certificates and testimonials of employment of the yūz-bāshīs, yasāvulān-i qūr, qūrchiyān-i yarāq and young (*jadīdī*) qūrchīs. They wrote and addressed (*qalamī-va-ʿinvān*) the raqams of employment, additional tiyūls and salary of the said staff. They seal the inside (*ḍimn*) of

1 Cf. the scope of the terms *lashkar-nivīs* (§63) and *ordu* (f. 22a).

2 I.e. sheets referring to any single subject, cf. Chardin, V, 450.

3 Under the seals on the back of various kinds of farmans, endorsements are found such as: *qalami shud, mulāḥaẓa shud*, cf. f. 71b, etc. Our author must refer to these formulas. This is clear from an entry found in Or. 4935: *"khuṭūṭ" va "shud-hā" ki bar pusht-i īn si farmān kashīda shuda-ast.* etc.

4 *Ḍimn*, "verso"?

5 Logically *tajvīz* should come before *raqam*. Ditto in §57, §59 and §60.

orders and raqams for salary, tiyūl, hama-sāla, grants (*inʿām*), money payable in drafts, [as well as the inside of] statements (*kayfiyāt*).

On the roll-call day (*rūz-i sān*) of the Qūrchīs the said Vazir, jointly with the Mustaufī of the Department read to the King, in the Paradisiac assembly, the records (*nuskhajāt-i sān*), the amount of tiyūl, salary, hama-sāla (**60a**) and personal allowance (*nafarī*)[1] of the staff mentioned.

§56. The Mustaufi of the Qurchis department has four scribes from the Divan staff. His duty is duly to keep the files of the individual allowances [of each man] (*sar-rishta bar nafarī?*), the date of the raqam of his appointment, the amount of salary, grants, tiyūl, hama-sāla, claims (*ṭalab*) and absence from duty (*ghaybat-i keshīk*). Official documents, certificates of presence and absence, certificates (*nuskha*) of dismissal (*ikhrāj*) and death (**mutavaffā*, v.i., 62a), remain with the said Mustaufi, The scribes (*nivīsanda*) of the said Department used to make the respective entries (*ḍabṭ*) and duly communicate them to the scribes of the Revenue Department (*ba-qalam-i kuttāb-i sarkār-i jamʿ*) in order that they should register (*ḍabṭ*) for the Divan the share of salary (rasad) due to the dismissed (**ikhrājiyīn*), the days of absence, the supplement (**60b**) on joining a campaign (*tafāvut-i vurūd-i safar*), together with the hama-sāla and tiyūl [which had been granted] to the persons who have died (*mutavaffā*) [since]. The preparation of statements (*kayfiyāt*) concerning claims [for] cash, tiyūls and hama-sāla, the registration of orders and raqams for tiyūl and salaries, either hama-sāla or payable in drafts, to the corps (*jamāʿat*) of Qūrchīs, as well as of the raqams of their employment was the duty of the scribes of the said Department; after registration [the documents] were presented for the endorsement and seal of the Mustaufi of the Department.

§57. The duties of the Vazir of the Ghulāms Department [are as follows]. The statements and certificates (concerning the) presence [of the ghulams on duty] and [their] service on campaigns, as well as the records which used to be issued by the Sipahsālārs and Sardārs with regard to the veterans (**61a**) were confirmed by a raqam of the Grand Vazir and approved (*tajvīz*) by the Qūllar-āqāsī and [then] endorsed in the said Department, in order that they should become operative (*maʿmūl*) without hindrance (*māniʿ*). The rest of the statements relative to the claims (*ṭalab*), hama-sāla, tiyūl and the salary of the yūz-bāshīs, ghulāms and yasāvulān-i qūr, ghulāms and jārchīs armed with *jazā'irī*[2] (*jazā'irī-andāz*), etc., were also sealed by the Vazirs of the Ghulāms. The rolls (*tūmār*), certificates (*taṣdīqāt*) and records referring to the employment of the yūz-bāshīs, yasāvulān-i qūr and other younger (*jadīdī*) ghulāms were kept (*ḍabṭ*) by the said Vazirs. They used to write and address (*qalamī-va-ʿinvānī*) the raqams relative to employment, additional tiyūls and salaries of the said corps (*jamāʿat*). They also used to

1 Cf. f. 69b: *qadr-i nafarī-yi qoshūn*, and Kaempfer, 89; salarii quantitas, but the meaning of *nafarī* varies at places.

2 Muskets of very large calibre. The jazā'irī corps was under the orders of the Tufangchi-bashi, v.s., p. 34.

seal statements (**61b**) concerning the salary, tiyūl, hama-sāla, grants and money payable in drafts, as well as the inside (*ḍimn*) of the raqams and orders of employment, tiyūl, hama-sāla and claims of the said staff.

On the roll-call day of the ghulams the said Vazir, jointly with the Mustaufi of the department, read to the King, in the Paradisiac assembly, the records (*nuskhajāt*), prepared for the occasion, [containing] the amount of tiyūl, salary, hama-sāla and personal allowance (*nafarī*) of the said corps.

§58. The Mustaufi of the Ghulāms Department had five secretaries[1] belonging to the Divan staff. He faithfully kept (*durust mīdāshta*) the individual files (*sarrishta-yi nafarī*?)[2] mentioning dates of issue of raqams of employment, amount of salary (**62a**), grants, tiyūl, hama-sāla, claims and (periods of) absence from, and presence on duty (*keshīk*). Official documents (*asnād-i daftarī*?), certificates of presence or absence, records of dismissals and deaths (*nuskhajāt-i ikhrāj va mutavaffā*) were kept by the Mustaufi of the Department and [his] secretaries (*muḥarrir*) and in accordance with them, [data] were communicated to the Revenue Department (*ba-qalam-i sarkār-i jamʿ mīdāda-and*) to enable [the official of the latter] to register for the Divan the share (*rasad*) [due to?] the dismissed [ghulāms], the days of the ghulāms' absence and the supplement [due to them] on joining a campaign (*tafāvut-i vurūd-i safar*). The secretaries of the Department had to prepare statements of claims (*kayfiyāt-i talab*), cash, tiyūl and hama-sāla, and to register the orders, raqams and statements regarding the tiyūl and salary of the said corps. When these documents were written and registered they were endorsed and sealed (**62b**) by the Mustaufī.

§59. The duties of the Vazir of the Musketeers (*tufangchi*) were as follows. When the statements and certificates regarding the presence [of the Musketeers on duty] or [their] service on campaigns were written, or when the records [issued] by Sipahsālārs and Sardārs with regard to the veterans [were drawn up], they were submitted to the raqam of the Grand Vazir and the approval of the Tufangchī-āqāsī and [then] endorsed by the Vazir of the Musketeers' Department, so that, without hindrance, they should become operative in the said Department. The said Vazir also endorsed the other statements of the said Department [regarding] the musketeers, yūz-bāshīs, mīn-bāshīs, jārchis, etc. (**63a**). The rolls, certificates and records [regarding] the employment of the said mīn-bāshīs, yūz-bāshīs and jārchis were kept by the said Vazir, who wrote and addressed (*qalamī-va-ʾinvān*) the raqams of employment, additional tiyūls and salary of the said corps. He also sealed the inside (*ḍimn*) of raqams and orders of employment and salary, as well as the statements on salary, tiyūl, hama-sāla, grants and money payable in drafts.

On the roll-call day of the Musketeers the said Vazir, jointly with the Mustaufi of the Department, read to the King, in his Paradisiac assembly, the records (*nuskhajāt-i sān*) containing mentions of the amount of tiyūl, salary, hama-sāla

1 But cf. f. 64a.

2 Here *nafarī* seems to stand for the adjective "individual."

and personal allowance (*nafarī?*) of the said staff.

§60. The Mustaufī (**63b**) of the Musketeers Department has four secretaries belonging to the Divan staff. His duty is to keep faithfully the files containing individual items (*nafarī*?), the date of issue of the raqam of employment, amount of salary, grants, tiyūl, hama-sāla, claims and hamīsha-keshīk (?).[1] The Mustaufī and the secretaries kept the files (*asnād-i daftarī*), certificates of presence and absence and records (*nuskha*) concerning dismissals and deaths, and in conformity with them, communicated data to the Revenue Department in order that a record (*ḍabṭ*) should be kept for the Dīvān of the share of salary due to the dismissed, of the days of absence and of the supplement on joining a campaign. The said scribes have to prepare statements of claims [for] cash, tiyūl (**64a**) and hama-sāla and to register the orders, raqams and statements [regarding] the salary, hama-sāla, [money payable] in drafts, etc., of the said corps. These documents, when written and registered, were endorsed and sealed by the said Mustaufī.

The post of Mustaufī of the said Department has always belonged to the Mustaufī of the Ghulāms Department and [the] four secretaries[2] are employed [simultaneously] in the two departments (cf. §112).

§61. The duties of the Vazir of the Royal Tūp-khāna (artillery) are as follows. Whenever statements, certificates concerning the presence [of the gunners on duty] and [their] service on campaigns [were prepared], or records (*nuskhajāt*) concerning the service of veterans were issued by the Sipahsālārs and Sardārs, they were submitted to the Grand Vazir's raqam (**64b**) and the Tūpchi-bāshīs approval, and then the Vazir of the Tūp-khāna endorsed them, in order that, without hindrance, they might become operative in the said Department. The Vazir also endorsed other departmental statements relative to the gunners, mīn-bāshīs, yūz-bāshīs, jārchis, etc. He kept the rolls, certificates and records concerning the employment of the mīn-bāshīs, yūz-bāshīs, jārchis and other younger *gunners.[3] The Vazirs used to write and address the raqams of employment, additional tiyūl and salary of the [artillery] corps and to seal the inside of the raqams and orders of employment, salary and tiyūl, as well as statements concerning salary, tiyūl (**65a**), hama-sāla, grants and money payable in drafts.

On the roll-call day of the gunners the said Vazir, jointly with the Mustaufi of the Department, read to the King (*navvāb-i ashraf*), in his Paradisiac assembly, the records mentioning the amount of tiyūl, salary, hama-sāla and personal allowance (*nafarī*?) of the said corps.

§62. The Mustaufi of the Artillery Department had under his orders three or four secretaries of the Divan staff. His duty is to keep the files [containing] individual items (*nafarī*), date of issue of the raqams of employment, amount of salary, grants, tiyūl, hama-sāla and claims relative to (?) hamīsha-keshīk.[4]

1 Time spent at the King's guard-house? Cf. §62.

2 But see §58.

3 Instead of *tufangchiyān-i jadīdī* read *tūpchiyān-i j.*

4 *Ṭalab-i hamīsha-keshīk* (under: *ṭalab-va-hamīsha-keshīk*), "applications for being ap-

The files, certificates (**65b**) of presence and absence, and records (*nuskhajāt*) concerning dismissals and deaths were kept by the said Mustaufī and the secretaries of the Department, and, in accordance with them, [data] were communicated to the Revenue Department, in order that a record might be kept [*ḍabṭ*] for the Divan of the share of salary due (*rasad*) to the dismissed, of the days of absence, and of the supplement on joining a campaign. The secretaries of the Department had to write statements of claims [for] cash (*tankhwāh*), tiyūl and hama-sāla, and to register the orders, raqams and statements concerning tiyūls, salary, hama-sāla, [money payable] in drafts (*barātī*), etc., of the said corps. These documents, when written and registered, were endorsed and sealed by the said Mustaufī.

§63. The Lashkar-nivīs of the Supreme Divan is the vazir of the Department of the Āqāyān (cf. f. 13b), falconers (*qūshchī*), ushers (*yasāvul*) and door-keepers (*qāpūchī*) (**66a**) both of the Divan and the Harem (*dīvān* [*va?*] *ḥaram*, v.i.), etc. He stamped with his seal statements of tiyūl, hama-sāla and grants of the above-mentioned staff, as well as the raqams and orders of salary, [money] payable in drafts and hama-sāla of all the great Amirs, beglarbegis, governors (*ḥukkām-i kirām*), sulṭāns and khans, both resident at the court and on the frontiers; the raqams of appointment of the said persons, as well as of all the exalted ʿāmils and mustaufis, officials (*aṣḥāb*, add: *manāṣib*) and senior officers (*rīsh-safīd*) of higher and lower ranks, of secretaries of the Secretariat [of State], vazirs and mustaufis of the frontier [provinces], doctors, astrologers, nāẓirs and kalāntars; raqams and orders concerning claims [of?] money of the amirs, courtiers (*muqarraban-i dargāh*), Aqāyān (?), falconers, ushers, door-keepers of the Divan and of the Harem, the heads of departments (*ṣāḥib-jamʿ*) (**66b**), mushrifs, workmen of the Royal Buyūtāt,other than the ghulāms; and (finally) the raqams and orders of soyūrghāl, exemptions, leases, pensions and the rolls of *yasāqis*[1] and levies (*cherīk*). The Lashkar-nivīs writes the raqams of employment of the said persons.

Whenever a Sipahsālār or a Sardār sets out [on a campaign], a deputy (*nāʾib*) of the Lashkar-nivīs is sent with him in order to keep a true register of (*bar*) presence and absence, of the personal appearance [of the men] (*chihra-nivīsī*) and of the amount of their salary—which register is forwarded to the Exalted Court. The [Lashkar-nivīs] keeps the individual files (*sar-rishta-yi nafarī*) of the amirs, governors and sulṭāns of the frontier [provinces].

On roll-call days the officials (*jamāʿatī*) (**67a**) connected (*dād-u-sitad*) with the Department of Sar-khaṭṭ, jointly with the Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs, used to read and write muster records (*nuskhajāt-i sān*).[2]

§64. The Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs of the Supreme Divan is the colleague (*sharīk*) of the Lashkar-nivīs in all the [latter's] affairs,—except in the writing of raqams of employment of all the said officials (*mulāzimān*), in the sealing of the statements,

pointed to the Life-Guards"? or "claims resulting from being on guard at the Palace"?

1 Bound service men.

2 This sentence belongs to §63.

raqams and orders of the persons which are enumerated above (*mufaṣṣala-yi ma'rūḍa*) and belong to the purview of the Lashkar-nivīs, and in the sending of delegates to accompany the Sipahsālārs and Sardārs. He is the Mustaufi of the Department of the Aqāyān, etc. (v.s., §9). [The preparation of?] all the orders and raqams of the officials and ʿāmils, the statements of claims [for?] money of the above-mentioned staff, and the keeping (*ḍabṭ*) of personal files (**67b**) [with] the amount of tiyūl, salary, hama-sāla and money payable in drafts, [belong to his duty]. After the statements have been written, confirmed and registered, the raqams and orders referring to the appointments (*manāṣib*), tiyūl, hama-sāla, etc., of the said staff are endorsed by the Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs.

§65. The duties of the Ḍābiṭa-nivīs are as follows. With the exception of the sums (*vujūhāt*) entered (*jamʿ*) in the Private Household or in the Avāraja Department, [all the rest] of products (*maḥsūlāt*) and rents[1] [collected by] the Divan in all the provinces, as well as road-taxes (*vujūh-i rākdārī*), [taxes on] the tobacco trade, *taqabbulāt* (?), *jihāt-i ʿamal-kardī-yi mamālik, chūpān-begī* (duties on cattle?), caution-money accruing from summonses (*iltizāmāt-i manāfīʿ-i iḥḍār*, cf. f. 21b), poll-tax of Indians (*sarāna-yi Hunūd*), duties on cattle-markets (*sūq al-davābb*), fees (*rusūm*) of the officials of the Supreme Divan (**68a**)—are dealt with (*dād-u-sitad*) in the department of the Ḍābiṭa-nivīs, now entrusted to Mīrzā Abul-ḥasan. The department had 15 scribes (*nivīsanda*), of whom 4 are actually alive, while the 11 others died during the siege of Iṣfahān, or after it, and most of them have left no [successors].

§66. The duties of the ʿālī-ḥaḍrat Ṣāḥib-taujīh of the Supreme Dīvān are as follows. He must audit (*ham-qalam*) all [the accounts of] the divisional chiefs (*arbāb-i qalam*) of the Expenditure Departments (*sarkārāt-i kharj*) and endorse and seal any kind of business done in the Secretariat (**68b**). He used to have 12 secretaries, each of whom kept the register (*sar-rishta*) of a branch (*ṣinf*) of the army (*ʿasākir*), etc. All the raqams, orders and parvānas regarding appointments (*manāṣib*) in the Supreme Divan, employment (*mulāzamat*), tiyūls, salary, hama-sāla, exemptions, soyūrghals, pensions, etc., whether they concern the Divan or the Private Department, or the [department of] the Keepers, etc., must be registered in the Ṣāḥib-taujīh's department. All the accountancy (*muḥāsabāt*) of the God-protected provinces,—with the exception of that of the Ṣāḥib-jamʿs of the Royal Buyūtāt and of that of the Keepers of the Buildings (§42), which are prepared in the Department of the Keepers (§51?),—must be confirmed (*tasdīq*) in the Ṣāḥib-taujīh's department. The accountancy records (*nuskha-yi muḥāsabāt*) (**69a**) of all the payers (*mu'addī*?) and Keepers of the Private Department referring to operations [carried out] on the strength of raqams and orders, must be certified in the said Department. Similarly all the official statements (*kayfiyāt-i daftarī*) must be confirmed by the *taujīh* [Department] of the Supreme Divan and a *b.rkhī*[2] written from the said Department. Certificates of hama-sāla, etc.,

1 *Mustaqallāt* read *mustaghallāt.*

2 According to Vullers, I, 215, *barkhī* means: (a) "an offering, a sacrifice," (b) "a compensa-

must be all registered and endorsed by the Ṣāḥib-taujīh and the secretaries of the Department.

The files (*sar-rishta*) of the instructions regarding the fees (*rusūmāt*) of the officers (*manāsib*) of the Supreme Divan, and of the instructions concerning the collection of the *chūpān-begi* and other levies (*vujūhāt*) [described as] *sāʿir al-vujūh* belong to the same Department. The instructions issued by His Majesty (*dastūr al-ʿamal-i navvāb-i gītī-sitān*) were (**69b**) kept in the same Department and, should at any moment (*dar ʿaṣrī*) necessity for an enquiry (**taḥqīqī?*) arise, the said Department writes that the instructions are infringed, and that no one should suffer oppression (*ziyādatī*). The amount of personal allowances in the army (*qadr-i nafarī-yi qoshūn?*)[1] and the emoluments (*madākhil*) of provincial governors are known (*ẓāhir*) through the said Department. Most of the secretaries (*muḥarrir*) of the said Department are no [longer] in existence.

§67. The duty of the Archivist of the Royal Supreme Secretariat (*daftar-dār-i daftar-khāna-yi humāyūn-i aʿlā*) is to endorse (*ba-khaṭṭ-i ū mīrasad*) the raqams and orders of vazirs and mustaufis, as well as the soyūrghāls, exemptions (*muʿāfī*) and [orders for] salary in cash (*tankhwāh-i mavājib*) of the aides-de-camp (*yasāvulān-i ṣuḥbat*), ushers (*eskīk-āqāsī*) and Aqāyān (v.s., §9). The files (*dafātir*) of the previous years, which were consulted only occasionally, were kept in the stores (*anbār*) of the Secretariat (**70a**). The Archivist was in charge (*taḥvīl*) of them and kept them in order (*ḍabṭ*).

§68. The ʿAzab-bashi is the senior officer (*rīsh-safīd*) of the ʿazabs and farrāshes of the Royal Secretariat. The files which are not stored are entrusted to him, and if some files (*dafātir*) were lost, he was responsible for the loss. According to the rules (*dastūr*) the register of raqams and orders (*daftar az raqam*) was endorsed by him.

§69. The duties of the Ḍābiṭ-i dushulluk-i Vakīl were as follows: when the raqams of salaries, etc., pass through the Royal Secretariat he collects (*bāz-yāft*) in cash the dūshulluk of the Vakīl (**70b**) belonging to the Supreme Divan (§85) to the amount (*ān-chi-rā*) corresponding to the regulations (*dastūr*) and practice (*maʿmūl*). He [registers] the cash money in his files (*sar-rishta*); for those who do not pay in cash (*naqd muhimm-sāzī*) the sum is deducted (*vaḍʿ*) from their credit (*az ḥashv-i ṭalab*) and towards the end of the year the amount of their liabilities (*qadr-i ān*) is fixed and the sum received from the Secretariat and appropriated (*abvāb-jamʿ-i khud*) [by the Ḍābiṭ] who pays it out for any established purposes. The Ḍābiṭ in his own hand makes a note inside the raqams that the dūshulluk has been collected.

§70. The duty of the Avāraja-nivīses ("Keepers of avaraja-books") is to inscribe names in the *kayfiyāt-i haqāʿiq-i daftarī*.[2] On the accountancy docu-

tion" (*ān-chi dar ʿavad-i chizī ba-kasī dihand*). Consequently the formula had the meaning of "given up" or "awarded (as compensation)."

1 Or the contingents of the army?

2 Probably some schedules to be filled in.

ments (*muḥāsabāt*) of the contractors (*musta'jir*), collectors (*ḍābiṭ*), stewards (*mutaṣaddī*) and other agents (*mubāshir*) of the Divan revenue, (**71a**) they [make endorsements, namely] they write on their expenditure vouchers [the word:] *nusikha* ("deleted")[1] and [opposite] single items (*afrād*) the word: *ba-muṭāla'a* ("considered"). The parvānas of hama-sāla, tiyūl, etc.,—after their contents (*kayfīyāt*, "schedules") [have been approved] by a raqam of the Grand Vazir and by the Mustaufī al-mamālik,—are taken over and addressed (*ḍabṭ va 'invān*) by the Avāraja-nivīses. According to the regulations, they also [perform the same formalities with] the raqams and parvānas which are issued [on the basis] of official drafts (*musavvada-yi daftarī*), [to the following persons]: to the amīrs and vazīrs resident on the frontiers or in the provinces, in whose care [the collection of] revenue has been placed, as well as to the governors, kalāntars, mustaufīs, lashkar-nivīses, maliks and "white-beards" of tribes (*īl*), clans (*oymāq*), and other [land] divisions (*maḥāll*) in their possession, whether the said persons be amirs resident at the Royal Court (*darb-i daulat-khāna*) (**71b**) or on the frontiers, or [belong to any] other category (*ghayra*) of dignitaries. [Namely] the Avāraja-nivīses inscribe on the drafts (*musavvada*) [of the said documents the formula] qalamī ("written"), and on the [original?] raqams and parvānas [addressed to] the said persons the formula: *mulāḥaẓa shud* ("considered"), and then register them. [Consequently] they keep the files (*asnād*), write [?] "*qalamī*" on [the drafts of] the raqams and parvānas and make entries in the registers (*dar thābt-hā khaṭṭ miguzārand*), in order that the document may become operative (*sanad-i daftariyān gardad*).[2] Whenever an iqṭā', or a soyūrghāl, or musallamiyāt (?), or exemptions, or a subvention (*madad-i ma'āsh*), or parvānas referring to accounts (*parvānajāt-i ḥisābī*?) are issued, they act in the same way.

CHAPTER V

ON THE FUNCTIONS OF EACH OF THE 'ĀMILS ('UMMĀL) OF THE CAPITAL, IṢFAHĀN

The chapter contains 14 paragraphs (*faṣl*).

§71. The duty of the Vazīr of the Fayḍ-āthār Department[3] is to administer (*nasaq*) estates and fields (*amlāk va zirā'at*) and to secure the prosperous state (*ābādī*) of gardens (**72a**), rentable property (*mustaghallāt*), milk and underground canals. The estimated amount of crops (*vajh-i ray'*) from the Maḥāll[4] and rentable property, as well as from other revenue accruing (*ḥāṣil*) from the endowments (*mauqūfāt*) of the said department must be collected from peasants and

1 *Dar asnād-i kkarj-i ishān "n.s.kh" va dar afrād "ba-muṭāla'a" mīnivīsand*, cf. *infra* 72b.

2 That it should become "an official document for the members of the Secretariat"?

3 "The department bearing vestiges of abundance."

4 The term *maḥall* refers to the countryside of Iṣfahān and the districts under the *Khāṣṣa*, cf. f. 4a.

tenants (*musta'jir*) with the Vazir's knowledge and under his seal, and employed [by him] for established purposes. The Vazir must exert himself for the prosperity of the Maḥāll and the increase of agriculture.

§72. The duties of the Mustaufi of the Endowments (*mauqūfāt*) of the God-protected provinces (*mamālik*) are as follows. All the vazirs, mustaufis, managers (*mutaṣaddī*), mutavallīs and mubāshirs of the endowments both of the Khāṣṣa and Divan Departments must submit their accounts to the Endowments office (*daftar-i mauqūfāt*). The said Mustaufi endorses (*khaṭṭ*) the accounts (**72b**), writes the word "deleted"[1] on the expenditure documents and to each one [of the above-mentioned staff] delivers a final discharge of accounts (*mufāṣā-hisāb*, sic), as well as written instructions (*ṭavāmīr-i nasaq*) that they should operate (*dād-u-sitad*) accordingly. When raqams and daftarī mithāls (*amthila-yi daftarī*)[2] were issued, it was from the drafts [compiled] at the Endowments office that the raqams were written by the secretaries, and the mithāls by the special scribes (mithāl-nivīs). After the Dārūgha of the Secretariat (§54?) had sealed them, [the said Mustaufi] used to seal and endorse them inside [the text].

§73. The duty of the Vazir of the Capital, Iṣfahān, is to administer (*nasaq*) the Maḥāll-i khāliṣa,[3] and to collect (*ḍabṭ*) some revenue (*vujūhāt*) [from?] the shops, so that no place in the said Maḥāll remains neglected (*bī-nasaq*) and without cultivation. He gives whatever he considers necessary for the good state (*nasaq*) of cultivation (**73a**) to the tenants (*musta'jir*) and peasants, in the guise (*ba-'invān*) of seeds[4] and [other] encouragements, and [later] recovers it (*bāz-yāft*) at the time of the harvest (*dar raf'-i maḥṣūl*). He finds (*ba-ham rasānad*) managers (*ḍābiṭ*?) and tenants for the rentable property of the Royal Private Household, and sees that no prejudice is sustained by the Private Household. He [also] finds peasants for every place where there are none and promotes its cultivation. He acts with particular care in the collection (*ḍabṭ*) of the Divan taxes.

With regard to the revenue (*vujūhāt*) of Isfahān controlled by the Mustaufī of Isfahan (§82), the said Vazir endorses (*raqam?*) the receipts (*asnād-i taḥvīl*) of the Heads of the Buyūtāt, [the documents] of hama-sāla of the said [Buyūtāt], as well as the other documents. The Mustaufi keeps (*ḍabṭ*) these (?) documents and, on the strength of (*ba-mūjib*) barāts sealed by the Vazir, the Kalāntar and the Mustaufi, [drafts] are circulated (*ḥavāla*) and cashed (*bāz-yāft*).[5]

If [somewhere], in view of some earthly or atmospheric calamity or ...[6] (**73b**)

1 Nuskha kashīda, read: "*nusikha*"? Cf. *supra* 71a.

2 The text suggests that the particular feature of these mithāls was that they were issued from the drafts which were kept in the office, perhaps on account of their more specified or individual contents.

3 Perhaps: the part of the Maḥāll which formed *khāliṣa*. See the commentary.

4 Spelt *bzr* but see, to the copyist's honour, f. 75a.

5 The word *baravāt*, "drafts," seems to have been written out of its place.

6 An identical phrase occurs on f. 75b, line 8; cf. §83. The syntax is shaky! The usual calamity is the insect *sen*. Cf. Chardin, V, 385; *sym*, and S. H. Taqizadeh in *BSOS*, IX/2, 1938, pp. 321–5.

there is call for a survey of the harvest (*dar rafʿ-i maḥṣūlāt … bāz-dīdī*), report is made to His Majesty, or to the Grand Vazir, after which it is decreed that the vazirs and ʿāmils, jointly with the Estimator of Crops (*rayyāʿ*, §83), the Surveyor (*massāḥ*) and experienced secretaries (*muḥarrir*) go to the district in question, examine the situation (*bāz-dīd*) and fix the estimate (*qarār-i rayʿ*). Then the customary *akira*, which is the share (*rasad*) of the peasant, is deducted; the remainder is taken over (*ḍabṭ*) on behalf of the Divan, entrusted to the care (*taḥvīl*) of the peasants and stored (*munabbar*) in the Maḥāll; then a keeper (*taḥvīldār*) is appointed and the amount (*tankhwāh*) [is placed at the disposal?] of the officials operating with Divan drafts (*arbāb-i ḥavālāt-i dīvān*).[1] [See f. 75b.]

The said Vazir's duty is to gather peasants, to increase (*taufīr-va-takthīr*) cultivation, to repair buildings, underground canals, shops and houses [on the?] khāliga lands, to protect the peasants against violence and oppression from any side and (**74a**) to appoint petty chiefs (*ruʿasā*), with the knowledge of the Kalāntar. The Vazir of Iṣfahān spent the collected money on the urgent needs of the Divan.

At the end of the year, with documents in hand, he presented [the accounts] to the raqam of the Grand Vazir. On this basis, the Mustaufi[2] examined and checked his accountancy documents and fixed his credit (*bāqī*) or deficit (*fāḍil*). After the Grand Vazir had issued his raqam, a record (*nuskha*) of the operations (*ʿamal-kard*?) [of the Vazir of Iṣfahān] was sent to the Mustaufi of the Private Household who carried out (*ʿamal*) any deductions (*bāz-yāft?*) [indicated] and remarks on the accountancy (*diqqat-i ḥisābī*).[3] Several Divan officials used to be appointed to be under the said Vazir (**74b**) and to render [him] official assistance. So long as the record on the survey (*nuskha-yi bāz-dīd*) of the Maḥāll has not been [approved] by the Grand Vazir's raqam, it has no legal force (*manāṭ-i iʿtibār nabūda*) and no action on it is taken at the offices. When the district is surveyed, a trustworthy person is appointed from the Supreme Divan, in order that the ʿāmils[4] and other officials may carry out their survey in his presence.

§74. The duty of the Vazir of the "Intiqālī" Department is to administer (*nasaq*) the estates (*amlāk*) and fields (*zirāʿat*) and to keep up (*ābādī*) gardens, rentable property, mills and underground canals. The estimated sums from the crops (*vajh-i rayʿ*), at every place, are collected (*bāz-yāft*) from the peasants and tenants with the knowledge and under the seal of the said Vazir. Whenever a place is neglected (*bī-nasaq*) and left without cultivation, (**75a**) whatever is necessary for keeping the fields in good form is advanced to the peasants from the revenue of the Department, in the form of seed (*bidhr*), encouragements and subventions (*maʾūnat*) to agriculture, and then recovered at harvest time. The Vazir finds managers (*ḍabiṭ*) and tenants (*mustaʾjir*) for rentable property (*mustaghallāt*)

1 I.e. the grain may be disposed of, for payments to the creditors of the Government.

2 A comparison with the parallel passage on f. 76a shows that the Mustaufi of the department (§82) is meant here.

3 This meaning results from ff. 76a, 76b and 83b.

4 Spelt *ʿml*?

and does not let the Private Household suffer any prejudice. He finds peasants for the places where there are none and promotes the cultivation thereof.

If, at harvest time, in view of some terrestrial or atmospheric calamity or (*yā-īnki*)[1] … (?), it becomes necessary to inspect a district, the matter is reported to His Majesty or to the Grand Vazir, and then it is decreed that someone of the subordinates (*tavābīn*) be appointed to proceed to that district, jointly (**75b**) with the vazirs, ʿāmils, the Estimator of Crops, the Land-Surveyor and experienced secretaries. In accordance with the practice, they inspect [the district] and give their decision. After deduction of the peasants' *akira* the remainder of the crops is taken over for the Divan.

The Vazir must exert himself to increase cultivation, to repair buildings, underground canals, shops and houses on [the lands belonging to the categories] of *khāliṣa* and *vaqfī*, to protect payers (*muʿaddiyān*),—so that no one should cause them violence or oppression,—and to appoint [petty] chiefs. On the strength of his commission (*ba ṣīgha-yi taḥvīl-i khud*), he has the power (*mukhtār*) to take from the Mustaufi of [his?] Department (§75) any amount which he considers necessary for the mentioned purposes and to spend the money on urgent official needs. At the end of the year, having the accountancy documents in hand, he submits them to the Grand Vazir's raqam (**76a**) and on this basis the Mustaufi of [his?] Department operates with his accounts. The record of the Vazir's operations (*ʿamal-kard*), having been approved by the Grand Vazir's raqam, is sent to the Mustaufi of the Private Household who gives effect (*ʿamal*) to any deduction or remark (*bāz-yāftī va-diqqatī*) which there may be.

§75. The special duty of the ʿālī-ḥaḍrat Mustaufi of the said [i.e. "intiqālī"] Department is to draw (*ḥavāla*) and to assign (*iṭlāq*) [the revenue] from crops and rentable property (*mustaghallāt*) and to clear and fix the accounts of the peasants and of the payers of the revenue accruing to the Divan or to the Endowments (*vujūhāt-i dīvān va vaqfī*) and collected (*ḍabṭī*) by the said Vazir [of the "intiqālī" Dt.?]. He has a number of scribes (*nivīsanda*) suitable to his requirements; they are on his staff (*juzʾ-i ū-yand*), and, without his knowledge and his seal, no operation (**76b**) in the matters entrusted to him (*mutavajjahāt*) is possible. After the fixation of the prices (*tasʿīr*) in [the month of] Sagittarius (i.e. November), which every year is carried out by ʿāmils and officials according to the customary rule (*dastūr*), the accounts of all the peasants and payers are closed in the books, and final receipts (*mufāṣā-ḥisāb*, sic) are issued to the payers, under the Mustaufī's seal. Every year the Mustaufī, in conformity with the documents, such as (*chinān-chi ki*) have been submitted to the Grand Vazir's raqam, writes a record of income and expenditure (*nuskha bar jamʿ-u-kharj*) for the [sums] entrusted (*mutavajjahāt*) to the said Department. This report is presented to the Private Household and, if there be any observations on the accounts (*sukhan-i ḥisābī*) or remarks on [the keeping of] the books (*diqqat-i daftarī*) the Mustaufi of the Private Household carries them out.

1 Cf. *supra*, f. 73a.

§76. The ʿālī-ḥaḍrat Kalāntar appoints the wardens (*kadkhudā*) of the [town] wards and the elders of the guilds (**77a**). The inhabitants of each ward and each village and [the members] of each guild (*ṣinf*) appoint among themselves the person whom they consider sure and trustworthy; they draw up a testimonial for him and fix a salary for him (*dar vajh-i ū*). Having had [the document] legalised by the Naqib's seal (§79) they bring it into the Kalantar's presence and obtain (*bāzyāft*) from him a certificate (*taʿlīq*) and an honorary robe for [their nominee], who thereafter begins to administer (*ratq-u-fatq*) their affairs.

In the course of the first three months of each year the Kalāntar and the Naqīb (§79) appoint someone to convene all the guilds (*aṣnāf*) and bring them to [the house of] the Naqīb of Isfahan. Everyone's assessment (*bunīcha*) is certified under the Naqīb's seal, and [the result] (**77b**) is brought up to the knowledge (*sar-rishta*) of the Kalāntar. After this, by means of drafts sealed by the Vazir, the Kalantar and the Mustaufi, the sums which according to the books (*az daftar?*) are due to the Divan (*mutavajjahāt-i dīvānī*) from every one [of the guilds?] are drawn upon and split into parts (*ḥavāla-va-muḥaṣṣas*)[1]; the Kalāntar draws them (*taujīh*) within every guild in accordance with the bunīcha; and the collectors (*muḥaṣṣil*) of the Divan collect [the sums] accordingly.

Several members of the Divan staff used to be under the Kalāntar's orders (*tābīnī*) for official assistance (*khidamāt-i dīvānī*). The Kalantar's business is to examine and sum up (*tamyīz va tashkhīṣ*?) the deliberations which the guilds hold among themselves concerning the amount of the bunīcha and other affairs pertaining to their profession (*kasb-va-kār*), in order that a practice should be established consistent with right, reason and the customs of the country (*mamlakat*). When a complaint has been brought to the Kalāntar about someone being guilty (**78a**) of violence and oppression towards the raʿiyyat ("peasants and artisans"), it is the Kalāntar's duty to act as the latter's proctor (*muddaʿī*). If he can himself obtain redress, all is well; if not, he reports the case to the representatives of the Divan (*vukalā-yi dīvānī*). He must prevent the powerful (*aqviyā*) from wreaking violence and oppression on the weak (*ḍuʿafā*) for [otherwise such arbitrariness] might result in discontent (*bad-duʿāʾī*). The Kalāntar must constantly strive to improve the condition of the raʿiyyat in order to secure [their] prayers for the sacred person [of the King].

§77. The Dārūgha of Iṣfahān is under (*juzʾ*) the Divan-begi (§11). His duty is to guard the town inside and outside, so that no one (**78b**) may commit outrages (*khilāf-i ḥisāb*) and oppression or start brawls (*nizāʿ*); the Dārūgha prohibits whatever is against the Shariʿat, such as courtesans, wine, gambling, etc., in order that no one may acquire such habits. But [if somebody commits these faults], the Dārūgha punishes him, prevents him from continuing and exacts for the guilty fines proportionate to their offences. When three hours have passed of the night, the Dārūgha first spends an hour at the Qaysariya gate,[2] then, with

1 The equivalent of this expression on f. 81a is: *taqsīm va taujīh*.

2 *Qaysariya*, "Market of expensive textiles" on the northern side of the Royal square, Char-

the suite appointed to be under his orders, mounts and patrols each night some part of the town, while his patrolling officers (*aḥdās*) and subalterns perambulate some other part, and at the time when the naqqāra plays,[1] he returns home.

It was a custom (**79a**) to attach (*tābīnī*) to the Dārūgha [representatives of] the Departments of the Qūrchis, Ghulāms, Āqāyān, Musketeers and Artillery men, who served as the Dārūgha thought best. In the way which he considers appropriate or necessary, he appoints them to each of the wards of Iṣfahān, under the direction of one of them whom they call *sar-dasta*. Day and night, they remain in that ward and guard it and watch over it, in order that no one should commit any act of oppression, or an outrage or anything contrary to the Shari'at. They report to the Dārūgha whatever happens in the ward, and the Dārūgha investigates and establishes the facts and calls [the guilty] to account (*bāz-khwāst*). Every night the said staff patrol their ward.

The rule was such (**79b**) that in smaller litigations (*da'vāhā-yi kam*) up to the sum of 5 and [even] 12 tumans,[2] whether in town or in the villages, the Dārūgha was responsible for the summonses (*iḥdār*), while the Dīvān-begi sent summonses for higher sums. The general regulation (*ḍābiṭa*) between the Dīvān-begi and the Dārūgha is such that the Dīvān-begi may intervene (*dakhl*) in whatever the latter may do, but, after the matter has reached the Dīvān-begi, the Dārūgha has no more (*dīgar*) say (*dakhl*) in the matter.

The patrolling officer (*āḥdās*) technically called Mīr-shab ("Prince of the Night") is under (*juz'*) the Dārūgha; he too, with his staff, patrols the wards at night and, if a theft occurs at night, the Mīr-shab reports it in the morning to the Dārūgha. Whenever a theft has taken place (**80a**) and the Mīr-shab has recovered the property (stolen), he levies ⅔ of it, which, according to the custom, is his right; the rest of the property, namely, ⅓ of it, must be returned by him to the owner, with the knowledge of the Dīvān-begi and Dārūgha. Should he not succeed in catching the thief, he asks for a delay, and if after that he has not [got hold of the offender] he pays a compensation (*gharāmat*) for the stolen goods from his own property (*'ayn al-māl-i khud*).

§78. The duties of the 'ālī-ḥaḍrat Muḥtasib al-mamālik. Every month the Ṣāfib-nasaq obtains from the elders of each guild an undertaking (*iltizām*) concerning the prices of the goods [in which they deal]. Having satisfied himself [as to the accuracy of the document] he seals it and hands it to the Muftasib al-mamālik (**80b**). The latter must confirm every point of it and send it to the Nāẓir of the Buyūtāt. The latter too considers it and, if he feels satisfied, seals it and passes it on to the Heads of the Departments (*ṣāḥib-jam'*), in order that, in accordance with it, the Mushrifs may draw up the documents (*asnād*) for the goods to be bought. As regards the prices (*tas'īrāt*) of the goods sold by the traders (*aṣnāf*) to the inhabitants of the town, if any of the professional merchants (*ahl-i ḥirfa*) eludes the

din, VII, 357.

1 The *naqqāra* played at 2 a.m.

2 V.s., f. 21a.

Muftasib's regulations (*qarār-dād*), the latter makes him *takhta-kulāh*, that he may serve as an example to others. The Muḥtasib al-mamālik appoints Deputies (*nāʾib*) everywhere in the God-protected provinces. In every place, (**81a**) the traders, month by month, sell goods to the people in accordance with the Deputy's certificate [of prices], so that tranquillity may reign among the peasants (*raʿiyyat*) and the inhabitants and residents [of towns], and that the latter may pray for the most sacred person of the King.

§79. The duty of the Naqīb is to fix (*tashkhīṣ*) the assessment (*bunīcha*] of the guilds (*aṣnāf*). In the first quarter (*si-māha*) of each year he appoints someone to convene the syndics (*kadkhudā*) of each guild. To (their) mutual satisfaction he fixes the bunicha of each [guild] in conformity with the Law (*qānūn*), Right, Reason and the customs and rules of the realm (*mamlakat*). [To that effect] he writes a roll (*tūmār*), seals it and commits it to the Kalantar's department (*sar-rishta*) in order that the Divan dues (*mutavajjahāt*) from each guild may be divided and drawn (*taqsīm va taujīh*?) in that year in the manner indicated (**81b**). Moreover, when a guild appoints [any one] master (*ustād*), it recognises the said man's qualifications (*ustādī*). [This document] after legalisation (*muʿtabar sākhta*) is carried to the Kalāntar from whom a certificate (*taʿlīqa*) is obtained (*bāz-yāft*). The Naqīb also appoints the elders of darvishes, (street) performers (*ahl-i maʿārik*) and so on.

§80. The duty of the Mīrāb of the capital, Iṣfahān, is to appoint the supervisors of the irrigation canals (*mādī-sālār*), to clean (*tanqiya*) the canals and rills (*jadāvil*), to conduct the surplus water (*āb-i zāʾida*) of the [Zāyanda-rūd] river to the whole of the district (*maḥāll*) of Isfahān irrigated from the river, according to [the rights] of each place (*maḥāll*). He must see that the peasants of any place do not trespass (*ziyādatī*) (**82a**) on those of another district with regard to the shares of water (*ḥaqqāba*). He must prevent the powerful from trespassing on the weak with regard to the shares of water. Whatever discussions and quarrels arise between the landowners (*arbāb*) and the peasants[1] of a district with regard to the shares of water, the investigation and settlement (*tamyīz-va-tashkhīṣ)* of cases belong to the Mīrāb's competence and in every case he must carry out (*maʿmūl*) [the decisions] with the confirmation and approval (*taṣdīq va tajvīz*) of the Vazir, the Kalāntar and the Mustaufi (v.s., 77b).

§81. The duty of the ʿālī-ḥaḍrat Mustaufi of the "Fayḍ-āthār" Department (v.s., §71) is to keep the register of revenue and expenditure (*sar-rishta bar jamʿ-va kharj*) of the Maḥāll [of Iṣfahān?], gardens, mills, rentable property and whatsoever belongs to the said Department (**82b**). He keeps the documents referring to revenue and expenditure, endorsed (*raqam*) by the Vazir of the said Department (§72); he pens (*qalamī*)[2] contracts (*sharṭ-nāmcha*) and drafts (*barāt*); he examines (*tanqīh*) the accounts of the peasants, tenants and other payers of māliyāt of the said Department and issues to them final receipts under his seal.

1 Instead of *raʿā* read: *raʿāyā*.

2 Or perhaps: makes the endorsement "*qalamī (shud).*"

§82. The duty of the ʿālī-ḥaḍrat Mustaufi of Iṣfahān is to draw (*ḥavāla*) and to assign (*iṭlāq*) the revenues (*vujūhāt*) and the crops and to examine and fix (*tanqīh-va-tashkhīṣ*) the accounts of the peasants and the payers of the Divan revenue collected (*ḍabṭī*) by the Vazir of Iṣfahān (§73). The Mustaufi has four scribes under his orders. Without his seal no operations (*dād-u-sitad*) are possible with (the said) revenue and crops (**83a**). Every year, in conformity with the regulations and custom, the ʿāmils and deputies (*maʿmūrīn*) fix the current prices (*tashkhīṣ-i tasʿīr*) for the month of Sagittarius, i.e. November, after which the accounts of all the peasants and payers are closed in the books (*dar dafiar mafrūgh*) and a receipt of final settlement (*mufāṣā-ḥisāb*) is given to the payers under the Mustaufi's signature. The preparation of rolls of summonses (*ṭavāmir-i taujīh*?) of men with donkeys (*mard-i ulāghdār*), men with picks, etc., who must be distributed among the community (*bar sar-i jamʿ*), is also done in the office of the [Mustaufi?] of Iṣfahān after which the summonses are sealed by the ʿāmils. Every year, the Mustaufi of Iṣfahān prepares a record (*nuskha*) of income and expenditure for the revenue and crops of the Maḥāll under the control (*ḍabṭi*) of the Vazir of Iṣfahān, doing this on the basis of the accountancy documents [approved] by the Grand Vazir's raqam. This record (**83b**) is then sent to the Private Household and if there be any observations on the accounts (*sukhan-i ḥisābi*) or remarks on book-keeping (*diqqat-i daftarī*) the Mustaufi of the Private Household (§109) carries them out.

§83. The duty of the Crop-Estimator (*rayyḍ*) of Iṣfahān is as follows. Every year, when it has been decreed that the crops of the district of Iṣfahān are to be examined, either in view [of the collection] of the "quarter" prescribed by the regulations (*chahār-yak-i nasaq*), or [in view of the fact that they are] of the category to be surveyed, or on account of some earthly or atmospheric calamity, the Rayyāʿ, jointly with the ʿāmils and officials appointed for the survey, sets out for the countryside. In the presence of the ʿāmils and officials, he takes samples (*ʿalāmat*) of the crop, which are then weighed and, on that basis, the ʿāmils estimate (*bar-āvard*) the total harvest and the part belonging (*abvāb-jamʿ*) to the peasants and [other] taxpayers (**84a**). When the record (*nuskha*) of inspection has been approved by the Grand Vazir's raqam, it becomes operative (*maḥkūmbihi*) and, on that basis, the secretaries of the Department make in their registers (*sar rishtajāt*) a repartition (*abvāb-jamʿ*) among the payers and close the accounts (*muḥāsaba mafrūgh*).

§84. The duty of the Manager (*MUTASADDĪ*) of the Gardens is always to see to the prosperous state of the gardens belonging to the Divan. [In this task] he must show all the necessary diligence and, at every season, plant trees and grow flowers. As often as possible (*akthar-i auqāt*) he must grow (*sar-anjām*) and present to His Majesty some gay flowers and first fruits, [thereby] to prove his good services. If a gardener on duty (**84b**) commits a fault, he punishes and dismisses him, reporting the matter to the Nāẓir of the Buyūtāt, and appoints a

new candidate (*ʿavaḍ*). So long as the Manager has not approved the services [of his subordinate] no fee (*marsūm*) or keep (*jīra*) is given to a gardener or to a donkey-driver (*khar-kār*) employed in the gardens. Every season, the Manager must send to the assemblies *gul-tafta-hā-yi gul*.[1]

CONCLUSION

ON THE SUMS AND AMOUNTS OF SALARY AND FEES OF THE DIGNITARIES OF THE EXALTED COURT; ON THE INCOME (MADĀKHIL) AND THE NUMBER OF SERVICE MEN (MULĀZIM) OF THE AMIRS RESIDENT ON THE FRONTIERS OR IN THE PROVINCES OF IRAN, [AND BRIEFLY ON THE REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF IRAN].[2]

This Conclusion is subdivided into three Parts (*maqāla*).

PART I

ON THE SALARY AND FEES OF EACH ONE OF THE GREAT AMIRS AND DIGNITARIES OF THE EXALTED COURT

§85. The VAKIL ("deputy") OF THE SUPREME DIVAN (Vice Grand Vazir) (**85a**). During the time of abeyance (*taʿṭīl*) of his office, a Ḍābiṭ (§69) was appointed for the collection of his "dushulluk," of which ½₀ (*dah-nīm*) was attributed to the Ḍābiṭ. No special salary was provided for the Vakil of the Supreme Divan, and his fees (*rusūmāt*) levied per tuman are such as shown under each item.[3]

from the ikhrājāt[4]	126	d.	1½ dg.
from the cash (*tankhwāh*) paid to the amīrs, muqqarabs and eunuchs	192	d.	
from tiyūls, etc. granted to the amīrs: a. from tiyūl	357	d.	
b. from hamasalā	238	d.	
from the grants (*inʿām*) given to the amīrs and the persons not being on the staff; from the soyūrghāl, muʿāfī, salaries, musallamī and ḥaqq al-saʿy of the ʿāmils	714	d.	

§86. The VAZIR OF THE SUPREME DIVAN [= Grand Vazir] has no salary. The following *rasm al-vizāra*, etc., grants and fees are allotted to him (**85b**):

rasm al-vizara, etc., fixed from the Maḥāll (v.s., §71):

rasm al-vizāra	803 t.	3000	d.+

1 *Gul-tafta* must refer to nosegays, or more probably to those "carpets of flowers" which the Persians prepare by arranging flowers (without the leaves) very tightly in a dish.

2 The words in square brackets have been supplied from f. 107b. The headings of Conclusion are out of order. Later, the author forgets that there were to be three Parts and treats Part III as a second section of Part II. We shall keep to the logical tripartite division.

3 t. = toman; d. = dīnār; dg. = dāng (= ⅙ of a dīnār); + = *va kasrī*, "odd."

4 V.s., f. 16a: perhaps from the expenditure (*ikhrājāt*) referred to on f. 130b

annual grants (*inʿām-i hama-salā*):

cash	20 t.		
the rest in kind: a moiety of	7 t.	7000	d.
fees per tuman:			
from leases by way of ḥaqq al-qarār		500	d.
from tiyūls		330	d.
from hama-sāla		220	d.
from grants to the amirs and the persons not belonging to the staff, from the soyūrghāl, muʿāfī, musallamī, salary, ḥaqq al-saʿy of the ʿāmils		714	d.
pro memoria (*bayḍā*)		blank	

§87. The Ṣadr-i aʿẓam receives a tithe (*ʿushr*), and ½₀ of all the soyūrghāls[1]; the "rights" of management (*ḥaqq al-tauliya*) and (**86a**) supervision (*ḥaqq al-naẓāra*) are allotted to him from some districts belonging to the Endowments. Mīrzā abu ṭālib, at the time of his tenure of office, received 1360 t. by way (*baṣīgha*) of subsidy (*madad-i maʿāsh*) and annual allowance (*muqarrarī*).

§88. The Qūrchi-bāshī, the Qūllar-āqāsī, the Tufangchi-āqāsī and the Tūpchī-bāshī, [as well as] their Vazirs,[2] levy each, from their subordinates the following fees:

the Senior Officers (*rīsh-safīd*):

from the grants, fixed salary (*qarār va mavājib*?) and tiyūls		500	d.
from the cash (*tankhwāh*) given as hama-sāla and yak-sāla		100	d.

the Vazīrs:

from the grants, fixed salary (*qarār i mavājib*) and tiyūls		100	d.
from the cash of hama-sāla and yak-sāla		10	d.

Their salaries and tiyūls[3] are as shown under respective heads (**86b**):

The Qūrchī-bāshī held Kāzarūn (spelt: *Kādharān*) as a tuyūl, while he also used to receive as ḥaqq al-tauliya	100 t.		
[as well as?][4]	1391 t.	7200	d.+
The Qūllar-āqāsī held Gulpāyagān, without specification of amount (*bi-lā mablagh*).			
The Tufangchī-bāshī most usually held the district (*ulkā*) of Abarqūh	700 t.	5300	d.+

1 A total of ³⁄₂₀, or 15 per cent.?

2 The meaning of this paragraph is that in the sums levied on the salaries of the staff both the Senior Officers (i.e, Qūrchī-bāshī, etc., themselves, cf. f. 12a) and their Vazirs had certain shares. Therefore we must insert **va* before *vuzarā-yi īshān*.

3 I.e. of the Qūrchī-bāshī, etc., but not of their Vazirs.

4 Perhaps: "the whole to the amount of 1391 t. 7200 d .+"

The Tūpchī-bāshī held the district of Shaft..... 500 t. 30 d.

§89. The Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī of the Dīvān used to have the governorship of Ray as well as a detachment of troops (*qushūn-i muqarrarī*),[1] and he still has the following fees as well (**87a**):

from the presents (*pīshkash*) brought to the Exalted Court a tithe is levied, which is divided between him and the Pīshkash-nivīs (§124);

from the branding (*dāghāna*) of camels: 1 head (*nafar*) out of 50;

from lambs and calves: 1 head out of 50.

§90. The Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī of the Harem used to have 300 t. of salary.

§91. The Amīrākhor-bāshī-yi jilau had a salary of 182 t. 4000 d.+.

The following fees are established in favour of the Amīrākhor-bāshī, [his] Taḥvīldār and lower staff (*ʿamala*), [though] each one's share is not defined:

from what anyone offers as a present (*pīshkash*) and from what is given as a grant (*inʿam*) a [tithe **dak-yak*] is levied and from [this] tithe 2/10 [i.e. 2 per cent.] are allotted to the Mushrif;

from what is given as salary 1/20 is levied (*bāz-yāft*); from [this] 1/20 , [i.e. 1 per cent.] goes to the Mushrif and the rest [i.e. 4 per cent.] to the Amīrākhor and the lower staff (**87b**).

§92. The [Amīrākhor-bāshī-yi] ṣāḥra has a salary of 80 t. which [in practice?] is estimated (*barāvardī*) at 127 t. 5000 d.+. In the existing record (*nuskha*) of fees the [respective data] have been briefly mentioned under the heading "Amīrākhor-bāshī," without specification of the *jilau* and *ṣaḥrā* [divisions]. From the context (*qarīna*) it appears that [the fees on] whatever is given from the stables appertain to the Amīrākhor-bāshī-yi ṣaḥrā. The fees accruing to the Stable from presents and grants are levied in the following way, as confirmed by the Mushrif:

from presents, per head [of the animals presented][2]..... 3000 d.
from grants: ditto..... 5000 d.

(**88a**) Of the sum levied (*ḍabṭ*) on presents and grants a distribution is made as follows:

[Amīrākhor?]..... 3000 d.
Ṣāḥib-jamʿ..... 3000 d.
Mushrif..... 2000 d.
jilaudārs..... 2000 d.
the grooms of the districts (*bulūk*) belonging to the Private Household and [those of the?] Storehouse (§45)... 1000 d.

When Bedouin Arabs, the Sharīfs of Mekka, the inhabitants of the sacred places, the Shāhī-sevans and guests bring presents, they do not give any dūshulluk and from the grants (*inʿām*) given to them dūshulluk is not levied.

§93. The Dīvān-begī has a salary of 500 t. and a tiyūl of 15 t. estimated (**88b**)

1 I.e. probably a number of *mulāzimān* like the other governors.

2 Rather; per toman of the 10 per cent, levy on the estimated value! But cf. §100.

[in practice] at 92 t. 3845 d., so that the total attributed to him was 592 t. 3845 d. and sometimes reached 1000 t. (Moreover), he has fees from mulcts [to the amount] of ⅒ .

§94. The Amīr-shikar-bāshī had a salary of 800 t., as well as tiyūl,[1] etc., and the following fees:

as a substitute (*der ʿavāḍ*) of the sādān (**ṣayyādān*?) of Shīrvān[2] a lump sum of	100	t.
from in the form (*ba-ṣīgha*) of fees belonging to the Mīr-shikār of Gīlān (*dār al-marz*), he has by way of a grant	150	t.
annual grant (*inʿām*) from[3] the Armenians of Julfa (Jūlāhī)	50	t.
from the prisoners kept in Iṣfahān	20	t.
by way of administering (*dārūghakī*) the butchers, vendors of cooked heads (*kalla-paz*), sellers of fowls, keepers of pigeonries (*kabūtar-parrān*), (**89a**) makers of falconry gloves (*bahla-dūz*), etc., he also had a non-specified sum of fees.		

§95. The Nāẓir of the Royal Buyūtāt has a salary, tiyūl and hama-sāla to the amount of 360 t. 1000 d.+, as well as the following fees:

(a) as written by the former Ṣāḥib-taujīh:

from what the *gäräk-yaraq* collect (*ba-ʿamal mī-āvarand*), 220 d. per toman is levied as a fee, and the Nāẓir's share in it is	100	d.
from the ½₀ on purchases (*ibtiyāʾ*) a sum of 10 t. 500 d. is levied, and the Nāẓir's share (*rasad*) in it is	50	d.

(b) as certified by the Mushrifs of the Buyūtāt as being the practice:

from the on the purchase price of goods the Nāẓir has ½₀;			
from the salary and allowances (*marsūm*) payed to the soldiers in cash (*naqd*), per tuman (**89b**)	366	d.	4 dg.
from the assigned goods given to the soldiers as [a part of] their salary (*ajnās-i barātī-ki ba mavājib-i ʿasākir dāda shavad*?) ½₀ is levied, and in this ½₀ the Nāẓir's share is ⅒ [i.e. ½ per cent.][4];			

1 Chardin, II, 383, says that the Amīr-shikar, "*a ses appointements tirés sur les revenus d'Abhar.*"

2 *Ṣādān* (?) seems to be a mis-spelling for **ṣayyādān*, "hunters, fishermen." It is very possible that the Amīr-shikār received the cut sum of 100 tomans as an equivalent or substitute (*ʿavaḍ*) for some levies on the famous fisheries of Shīrvān (at the estuary of the Kur).

3 *Inʿām* is a grant from a superior (the Shah!) to an inferior, but here *inʿām* is obviously used for "presents" (*pīshkash*),

4 V.i., under §§127 and 131. *Ajnās-i barātī*: probably the goods to be collected on the spot, for which bonds were issued to the soldiers.

from what is sent (*infādh*) from the spot by Vazirs, etc.,[1]
he has an established fee of ⅟₁₀₀ of the price;
from the ⅟₁₀ of grants and from the ½₀ of presents the Nāẓir also receives fees.

§96. The Nāẓir of the Animals had a salary of 150 t.; from the purchase of horse blankets (*jul*) and harness (*yarāq*?) for Bābā-shaykh ʿAlī's stables[2] ½₀ was the customary (levy), from which sum the Nāẓir received ⅟₁₀ .

§97. The Nāẓir of the Secretariat (*daftarkhāna*) had *225 t. 6800 d.+ of fees and salary.

(a) According to the ancient rule, he received:

from leases, per tuman	14	d. 3½	dg.
from the amount (*tankhwāh*) payed to the amīrs	2	d.	
from tuyūls	7	d.	
from hama-salā the cash of the amīrs' salaries	4	d. 4	dg.
from grants to the amirs and the persons not being on the staff, as well as from soyūrghāls, salaries, etc.	14	d.	

(b) In the last times it has been established by a raqam [that the Nāẓir's fees should be], per tuman:

from fixed salaries	50	d.
from the amount of hama-salā and yak-salā	20	d.

§98. The Keeper of the August Seal once a year received (**90a**) a sum of 30 t. as a "cost of the cord for the seal"; he also has fees, per tuman:[3]

from the tiyūl of the amīrs	260	d.	
from the grants to the amirs and the persons not being on staff, as well as from the soyūrghāls, muʿāfīs, iqṭāʿs, salaries and ḥaqq al-saʿy of the ʿāmils	520	d.	
from the amīrs' hama-salā	133	d. 2	dg.
from the cash of the amīrs' salaries	66	d. 2	dg.

§99. The Keeper of the "*sharaf-i nafādh*" Seal receives [fees], per tuman:[4]

from the tiyūl of the amīrs, from the salaries and ḥaqq al-saʿy of the ʿāmils	315	d.	
from the hama-sāla salary of the amīrs	157	d. 3	dg.

§100. The Tūshmāl-bāshī received 315 t. 600 d.+ as salary, tiyūl [and] hama-sāla, (**90b**) as well as the following fees:

from every head of slaughtered sheep	20	d.
ditto from a lamb	10	d.
from a lambskin	10	d.

1 Evidently contributions in goods (textiles, etc.) collected on the spot.

2 According to Chardin, v, 364, the Shah had three stables: one for the horses of 60 tomans and more; one for those of 60–12 t. and one for those of a lesser price. Chardin does not give their names. Cf. also on the stables of Ṣāḥib al-zamān, *ibid.*, v, 457.

3 But see §24.

4 But see §25.

from the fees on the purchases of the [Royal] Kitchen, from each 100 d. ..... 60 d.

§101. The Davātdār-i aḥkām receives 24 t. 2000 d. of salary and tiyūl, as well as the fees, as specified below:[1]

from leases, per tuman	18	d.	1½ dg.
from the tiyūl of the amīrs, muqarrabs and āqāyān	25	d.	
from the hama-sāla of the amīrs, etc.	16	d.	
from the sums payable in barāts	8	d.	2 dg.
from the grants to the amīrs and the persons not being on the staff, from the soyūrghāls and ḥaqq al-saʿy of the ʿāmils	50	d.	

§102. The Davātdār-i arqām has 43 t. 1000 d.+ of salary and tiyūl, and fees on the [same] rate (*dastūr*) as the Davātdār-i aḥkām.[2]

§103. The Muḥtasib al-mamālik had 50 t. of salary, and local (*maḥallī*) fees (**91a**) to the amount of 253 t. 3000 d.+, as specified below:

Qazvīn	16 t.	1100 d.		Fārs	5 t.	3463 d.	
Hamadān	17 t.	370 d.		Qapānāt	4 t.		
Kirmān	3 t.	7000 d.		Khoy	1 t.	5000 d.	(?)
Mashhad	12 t.	1000 d.		Garmarūd	7 t.	1000 d.	
Ardabīl	21 t.			Angūr	1 t.	1000 d.	
The capital, Tabrīz	60 t.	1200 d.		Sarāb	5 t.	2400 d.	
Māzandarān	10 t.			Muqānāt	4 t.	300 d.	
The borough of ʿAbbāsābād, Ganja, Erīvān, Urūmī	12 t.	5000 d.		Zunūz	0 t.	5000 d.	
				Marand	1 t.	5000 d.	(?)
				The community of Javān-shīr and Otuziki	Blank		

§104. The Dārūgha of Iṣfahān receives fees, under different titles, from 300 t. to 500 t.

§105. The Dārūgha-yi daftar-khāna (**91b**) used to have in the days of old 57 t. 8000 d.+ of salary and tiyūl but, in the reign of Shāh ḥusayn, the tiyūl of Bisṭām-āqā, the amount of which was estimated at 200 t., was attributed to him; his local fees [from provinces?] were 73 t. 7430 d., and he also had fees, as specified below, per tuman:

from leases hama-sāla	5½	d.
from the amount paid to the amīrs	2½	d.
from their tiyūl	7½	d.
from their hama-sāla	5	d.
from the grants to the amīrs and the persons not on the staff, from the soyūrghāl, etc.	15	d.

1 But see §27 (?).

2 But see §26 (?).

§106. The Dārūgha of the Farrāsh-khāna had a tiyūl of 10 t. 3760 d. He had also 95 t.+ of fees from the tailors, painters and other guilds (*aṣnāf*), (**92a**) and levied them [personally].

§107. The Mustaufī al-mamālik had [the fees] specified below and the [customary] fees of his office (rasm aī-istīfā):

rasm al-istīfā from the [Iṣfahān] district	302 t.	9058	d.
rasm al-ḥisāb from accounts per tuman		30	d.
from the tiyūl of the amīrs, muqarrabs and eunuchs		45	d.
from the hama-sāla of the amīrs, etc.		30	d.
from the amount payable in drafts (*tankhwāh-i barātī*) to the amīrs, muqarrabs and āqāyān		15	d.
from the grants to the amīrs and the persons not being on the staff, from soyūrghāl, etc., ḥaqq al-saʿy of the *ʿāmils[1]		90	d.

§108. The Majlis-nivīs has a fixed allowance (*muqarrarī*) and a subvention to the cost of living (*madad-i maʿāsh*): 300 t.

and fees from the estimated sums of the tiyūl and hama-sāla of the amīrs, etc., per tuman		200	d.
a sum of (blank) representing the cost of 30 dastaja of English (*ikli-sī*) paper (**92b**) was assigned to him as a grant from the revenue of the district [of Iṣfahān] collected (*ḍabṭī*) by the Vazīr and Mustaufī of Iṣfahān (§73, §82)		[v.s., f. 26b	30 t.]

§109. The Mustaufī of the Royal Household [See Commentary on §18], in earlier times, had a *rasm al-ḥisāb* of 30 d. per tuman, which was distributed between him and [his] secretaries in proportion of ⅘ to ⅕. Later the *rasm al-ḥisāb* payable to him and the secretaries was fixed at 45 d., the rest of the fees [received by him] from the Maḥāll-i Khāṣṣa [v.s., §71] follows the schedule (*ba-dastūr*) of the Mustaufī al-mamālik [§107].

[A sum[2] of 21 t. 5000 d. cash and 2129 maunds in kind, in old weight (*ba vazn-i sābiq*) was assigned to the Avāraja-nivīses of Gīlān (*Gilānāt*) (**93a**) and Isfahān in guise of local (*maḥālli*) fees.]

§110. The Munshī al-mamālik had a salary of 153 t. 7000 d.+.

he also had fees from the tiyūl of the amīrs, muqarrabs and āqāyān, per tuman		25	d.
from the hama-sāla		16	d. 4 dg.
from the grants to the amīrs and the persons not being on the staff, from soyūrghāl, etc.		50	d.
from the amount [paid to] the amīrs and muqarrabs		8	d. 2 dg.
from leases		18	d. 1½dg.

§111. The Vazīrs of the Qūrchīs, Ghulāms, Tufangchīs [and Tūpchīs]

1 Spelt: *ʿml*.

2 This passage evidently belongs to f. 95b.

had the following salaries:

Vazīr-i qūrchī	100 t.	Vazīr-i tufangchī	50 t.
Vazīr-i ghulām	100 t.	Vazīr-i tūpchī	50 t.

[moreover], each of them had the following fees:

from the grants, tiyūls and fixed salaries (*qarār-i mavājib*) per tuman	200 d.
from the amount of yak-sāla or hama-sāla	45 d.

§112. The Mustaufis of the Qūrchīs, Ghulāms, Tufangchīs and Tūpchīs had salaries as follows:

Mustaufi-yi qūrchi	50 t.
Mustaufi-yi ghulām va tufangchi[1]	30 t.
Mustaufi-yi tūpchi	39 t.
they also had fees from fixed salaries (*qarār-i mavājib*), grants and tiyūls, per tuman	100 dg.
from the amount of hama-sāla or yak-sala	25 dg.

§113. The Ḍābiṭa-nivīs had a salary estimated at 89 t. 3500 d.+ and (**94a**) local fees amounting to 19 t., as well as fees, per tuman:

from the tiyūl of the amīrs, muqarrabs and āqāyān	11 d. 1½ dg.
from the grants to the amirs and the persons not being on the staff, as well as from soyūrghāls, etc.	22½ d.
from the hama-sāla of the amīrs, muqarrabs, as well as āqāyān	7½ d.
from the [sums payable in] drafts (*barātī*)	3 d. 4½ dg.
he also had *rasm al-ḥisāb*, per tuman	30 d.

§114. The Ṣāḥib -taujīh had a salary of 20 t. and local fees to the amount of 2 t. 2500 d.

[fees]:

from leases, per tuman	22½ d. 1 dg.
from the amount of the salary of the amīrs (*tankhwāh-i mavājib*)	3 d. 4½ dg.
(**94b**) from the military	20 d.
from the tiyūl of the amīrs, muqqarabs and āqāyān	11 d. 1½ dg.
from the tiyūl of the qūrchīs, ghulāms, tufangchīs, tūpchīs	50 d.
from their hama-sāla of the amīrs, etc.	7½ d.
from their hama-sāla of the qūrchīs, etc.	50 d.
from the grants to the vazīrs and the persons not being of the staff	22½ d.
from the grants to the qūrchīs and other military	50 d.
from the soyūrghal, mu'āfī, etc.	22½ d.

§115. The Avāraja-nivīs of ʻIrāq had a salary of 14 t. and local fees of 55 t. 1000 d.

1 There was only one Mustaufi for the two Departments, cf. f. 64a.

[fees]:

from leases, per tuman (**95a**)	8	d. 1	dg.
from the tiyūls of the amīrs, muqarrabs and āqāyān	11	d. 1½	dg.
from their hama-sāla	7½	d.	
from the grants to the vazīrs and the persons not being on the staff, as well as from the soyūrghal, etc	22½	d.	
from the amount [paid to] the muqarrabs and āqāyān	3	d. 4½	dg.
he also had a *rasm al-ḥisāb* per tuman	15	d.	

§116. The Avāraja-nivīs of Āzarbāyjān had a salary of 50 t., the rest of his fees as in ʿIrāq. His local fees (**95b**) have been appropriated (*ḍabṭ shud*) by the Dīvān.

§117. The Avāraja-nivīs of Fārs has a salary of 15 t.

local fees	103 t.	7000	d.+

the rest of his fees as in ʿIrāq.[1]

§118. The Avāraja-nivīs of Khorāsān has a salary of 15 t.

local fees	68 t.	6000	d.+

the rest of his fees as in ʿIrāq.

§119. The Avāraja-nivīs of Mines. Salary: 20 t. The rest of his fees as in ʿIrāq.

§120. The Lashkar-nivīs has a tiyūl of (**96a**) 3 t. 1250 d.+.

[fees]:

from leases per tuman	15	d. 1½	dg.
from the amount of yak-sāla of the amīrs, muqarrabs and āqāyān	8	d. 2	dg.
from the salary of muqarrabs, yasāvuls, etc., except (*sivā*) the workmen of the Buyūtāt	40	d.	
from the tiyūls of the amīrs, muqarrabs and āqāyān	25	d.	
from the hama-sāla of ditto	16	d. 4	dg.
from the grants to the amīrs and the persons not on the staff	50	d.	
from the salary and ḥaqq al-saʿy of the ʿāmils	50	d.	
[from] the soyūrghal, muʿāfī, musallamī and iqṭāʿ (**96b**)	50	d.	
from the presents from which a tithe is levied, one-tenth went to the Lashkar-nivīs and the Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs			

§121. The Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs used to have a salary of 12 t. and the following fees, per tuman:

from leases	5	d. 4	dg.
from the amount of yak-sāla [paid to the] amīrs and muqarrabs	3	d. 4	dg.
from the amount [paid to] the āqāyān, muqarrabs and yasāvuls	20	d.	

1 Here ought to follow the passage on f. 92b.

from the tiyūls of the amīrs, etc. ..... 8 d.
from the hama-sāla of ditto ..... 5 d. 2 dg.
from the grants to the amīrs and the persons not on the staff, as well as from the soyūrghal, muʿāfī, salary and ḥaqq al-saʿy of the ʿāmils (**97a**) ..... 16 d.
from the presents, as under Lashkar-nivīs.

§122. The Keshīk-nivīs (two persons): Salary 37 t.

§123. The Scribe of the baqāyā: Salary 20 t.

§124. The Pishkash-nivīs: Salary 15 t. From the tithe levied on the presents he has ⅒ [i.e. 1 per cent.].

§125. The Daftar-dār: Salary 9 t. and local fees 21 t. 6300 d.
from leases, per tuman ..... 2 d. 4½ dg.
from the amount [paid to] the amīrs ..... 1 d. 1½ dg.
from the tiyūls (**97b**) of the amīrs ..... 3 d. 4½ dg.
from the hama-sāla ..... 2½ d.
from the grants to the amīrs and the persons not on the staff, as well as from the soyūrghal, etc. ..... 7½ d.

§126. The Scribe of the Nāẓir's Office (*nivīsanda-yi naẓārat*, cf. f. 58b?): Salary 19 t.
[fees] from leases, per tuman ..... 1½ d.

§127. The Mushrif of the Royal Treasury:
from the tithe [on the value] of the robes of honour and from the ½₀ on presents, per tuman ..... 3000 d.
from the ½₀ of the fees on purchases (*rusūm-i ibtiyāʿ*), per tuman ..... 133 d. 2 dg.
from the salaries and perquisites (*marsṣūm*) paid in cash, per tuman ..... 60 d.
from the assigned goods (**98a**) forming [part of] the soldiers' pay (*ajnās-i barātī-ki tankhwāh-i ʿasakir shavad*) ½₀ is levied, and per tuman of the collected sum the Mushrif receives ..... 3000 d.
from the value (*qimāt*) of the goods sent [from the spot by] the vazīrs and gäräk-yarāqs ..... ¹⁄₁₀₀
from the produce of the weaving mill (*ajnās-i shaʿr-bāf-khāna*) ..... ²⁄₁₀₀

§128. The Mushrif of the Qaychāchī-khāna-yi umarāʾī:
from the tithe [on the value] of the robes of honour, per tuman collected ..... 1200 d.
from the sendings (*infādh*) of the vazīrs and ʿāmils ..... ¹⁄₁₀₀
from the ½₀ on purchases per tuman collected ..... 133 d. 2 dg.

§129. The Mushrif of the Ābdār-khāna:
from the sendings (*infādh*) of the vazīrs and ʿāmils ..... ¹⁄₁₀₀
from the ½₀ on purchases per tuman collected (**98b**) ..... 133 d. 2 dg.

§130. The Mushrif of the Library: Used to be paid similarly to his colleague of the Ābdār-khāna.

§131. The Mushrif of the Qaychāchī-khāna-yi khāṣṣa:

from the sendings (*infādh*) of the vazīrs and ʿāmils	1/100		
from the 1/20 on purchases	133	d.	2 dg.
from the 1/20 on presents, robes of honour and assigned goods (*ajnās-i barātī*)	1966	d.	4 dg.

§132. The Mushrif of the ḥavīj-khāna, Kitchen [cf. §133?], Poultry-yard (*murgh-khāna*) and Scullery (*ayāghī-khāna*), who was one single person[1]: Salary 30 t.

from grants	2/100		
from the salaries [of the subordinates?]	1/100		
from the 1/20 on purchases (**99a**)			2 dg.
[Moreover] he receives every day as his keep (*jīra*) one plate (*qāb*) of food in the morning and one in the evening, 6 breads *du-khāṣṣa* and 6 [breads?] *kharjī*.[2]			

§133. The Mushrif of the Kitchen:

from the tithe on the sheep given as grants	20	d.	
from the 1/20 on purchases			2 dg.
He also had an allowance (*rusūmī*) of morning and evening meals			

§134. The Mushrif of the Mīva-khāna, Qūr-khāna and Ghānāt, all the three Departments being under supervision (*ishrāf*) of one man: Salary 20 t.

from presents	1/100		
from grants, from 100 dīnārs collected			2 dg.
from the 5 dīnārs [per tuman levied on] consignments[3] to the guilds (*taḥvīl-i aṣnāf*) making military outfit (*yarāq*?) (**99b**)	1/20	of a dīnār	
from the 1/20 levied on the salary [of the staff?]	1/10		
from purchases			2 dg.

§135. The Mushrif of the Sharbat-khāna: Salary 35 t. he also received fees on presents and grants.

from sendings (*infādh*)	1/100		

1 But see §133

2 Chardin, VII, 387, says that four kinds of bread were made in the Royal bakery: "*le pain de feuille, qui est mince comme du parchemin, le pain cuit sur les cailloux, qui est grand comme un grand bassin d'argent, et est très blanc et très bon; le petit pain qui est au lait et aux oeufs, et le pain ordinaire, qui comme les autres, n'est pas si épais que le petit doigt.*" *Du-khāṣṣa*, "Superior A" may refer to the first kind; *kharjī* is "ordinary."

3 We have to translate *taḥvīl-i aṣnāf*, "consignments, remittances to the guilds," in view of the parallel passage on f. 101a.

from the ½₀ on purchases, after deduction of belonging to the Nāẓir and the Mustaufī of the Keepers (§51)..... 2 dg.

§136. The Mushrif of the Shaʿr-bāf-khāna: Salary 15 t.
from each tuman of the collected fees[1] he had..... 33 d. 2 dg.

§137. The Mushrif of the Falconry (*qūsh-khāna*): Salary (**100a**) 60 t. 4900 d.+. He has some fees from the levy on the food (*ṭuʿma*) of dogs and hunting birds (*javāriḥ*).

§138. The Mushrif of the Tup-khāna: Salary 20 t.
from the ½₀ levied as a fee on [the cost of?] manufacture of gun-powder (*bārūt-sāzī*) he had per tuman..... 266 d. 4 dg.

§139. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Royal Treasury:

(a) as written in the Record [of fees] (*nuskha*), the fees assigned to him were as follows:

each collected toman of fees [representing] the tithe on grants and the on presents, was distributed as follows:

Ṣāḥib-jamʿ.....	3000 d.	ʿazabs.....	300 d.
Mustaufī of the Keepers.....	1000 d.	Mushrif.....	3000 d.
Keeper of the keys.....	2400 d.	blank (**100b**)	

ditto [representing] the ½₀ on purchases:

Nāiir.....	1000 d.	Mustaufī of the Keepers.....	1000 d.
Mushrif.....	2366 d. 4 dg.	Ṣāḥib-jamʿ.....	5363 d. 2 dg.

ditto [representing] the ½₀ on the salary in kind (*jinsī-ki ha mavājib dihand*):

Ṣāḥib-jamʿ.....	3000 d.	Keeper of the keys.....	2400 d.
Mustaufī of the Keepers.....	1000 d.	ʿazabs.....	300 d.
Mushrifs.....	3000 d.		

(b) Whereas (?), according to what the Mushrif (himself) has put down (*ba-qalam dāda*) the fees were levied (*bāz-yāft*) as follows:

from each tuman of the salaries in cash (*naqd*), 200 dīnārs are levied, of which 20 dīnārs are taken (*ḍabṭ*) for the Private Department, and, of the remaining sum, 120 d. are assigned to the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ;

from the goods sent (from the spot) by the gäräk-yārāqs, vazīrs and ʿāmils (*ʿamala*?) to the amount of ½₀₀ and from the sendings (*infādh*) of the shaʿr-bāf-khāna ½₀₀ (**101a**).

§140. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Rikāb-khāna: Salary 489 t. 1000 d.+: animal grant (*inʿām-i hama-sāla*) 50 t.; fees as follows:

Mode (*dafʿa*) I: according to Ḥasan-beg's[2] regulations (*dastūr*):

from the presents, etc., taken over (*taḥvīl bāshad*):	½₀₀		
from the tithe on grants:	Ṣāḥib-jamʿ.....	30	d.
	cutter (*qaychāchī*).....	50	d.

1 Something left out?

2 I.e., of the Aq-qoyunlū King Uzun-Ḥasan (A.D. 1466–78).

from what is consigned (*tahvīl*) to the guilds (*aṣnāf*) for the fabrication (*sar-anjām*) of military outfit (*yarāq*) [cf. f. 99b] and from what is given as salary to anyone (*harkas*), four parts (*ḥissa*) of the tithe constitute the quota (*rasad*) of the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ.

Mode II: according to the [practice] of the days of the late (*jannat-makān*) [King]

from the robes of honour given to any one, ⅒ of the real (*vāqiʿ*) value is levied and distributed as follows: (**101b**)

dūshulluk, per tuman	1000	d.	
workmen of the qaychāchī-khāna	550	d.	
Taḥvīldār [= Ṣāḥib-jamʿ?]	240	d.	
Mushrif	120	d.	
Keeper of the keys	20	d.	
Mustaufī of the Keepers	40	d.	
ʿazabs	120	d.	
pīshkhidmat	30	d.	
ʿrikābdārs: equally divided (*ʿalā al sawīya*)	450	d.	
[section of] būqcha-bāfī	100	d.	
Keeper of the keys	33	d.	2 dg.
ʿazabs	66	d.	4 dg.

§141. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Royal (*khāṣṣa*) Qaychāchī-khāna and Khayyāṭ-khāna (Cutting and Tailoring Department): Salary 40 t.; fees as follows:

from the ⅒ of the dūshulluk levied on robes of honour, from the ½₀ (?) on salaries and from the ½₀ on the presents (**102a**):

Nāẓir of the Buyūtāt	100	d.	
Mustaufī of the Keepers	90	d.	
Ṣāḥib-jamʿ	399	d.	2 dg.
Mushrif	196	d.	4 dg.
Keeper of the keys	33	d.	
pīshkhidmat	25	d.	
ʿazabs	162	d.	2 dg.
from the ⅒ on purchases	1000	d.	
Nāẓir of the Buyūtāt	100	d.	
Mustaufī of the Keepers	100	d.	
Ṣāḥib-jamʿ	533	d.	2 dg.
Mushrif	266	d.	4 dg.
from what the *gäräk-yarāqs remitted to the Workshops against a receipt			
Ṣāḥib-jamʿ	⅒₀		
Mushrif	⅒₀		

§142. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Farrāsh-khāna: Salary 70 t. 3241½ d. The following fees used to be assigned to him:

from the ⅒ on presents (**102b**):	1000	d.	
Nāẓir	100	d.	
Mustaufī of the Keepers	100	d.	
Ṣāḥib-jam‘	533	d.	2 dg.
Mushrif	226	d.	4 dg.
from the ½₀ on presents	1000	d.	
‘azabs	200	d.	
Ṣāḥib-jam‘	533	d.	2 dg.
Mushrif	266	d.	4 dg.
from the ½₀ of the salary in kind and from the tithe on grants:	1000	d.	
Nāẓir	100	d.	
Mustaufī of the Keepers	100	d.	
Ṣāḥib-jam‘	533	d.	2 dg.
Mushrif	266	d.	4 dg.

§143. The Ṣāḥib-jam‘ of the Zīn-khāna (“Saddlery”) used to receive: Salary 60 t. 5846 d. The following fees were assigned to him:

from the tithe on grants and the ½₀ on presents (**103a**):	1000	d.	
Ṣāḥib-jam‘	500	d.	
Mushrif	200	d.	
zīndārs and jilaudārs	200	d.	
‘azabs	100	d.	
from the ½₀ of what is given as salaries and from what [is spent] on purchases	500	d.	
Nāẓir	50	d.	
Mustaufī of the Keepers	50	d.	
Ṣāḥib-jam‘	263	d.	4 dg.
Mushrif[1]	133	d.	2 dg.
from what is consigned (*taḥvīl*) by the vazirs and gäräkyarāqs ⅒ is levied:			
Nāẓir	100	d.	
Ṣāḥib-jam‘[2]	1	d.	(?)
Mushrif	100	d.	
Mustaufī of the Keepers and the ‘āmil despatching the goods, by moieties (*bil-munāsafa*)	200	d.	

§144. The Ṣāḥib-jam‘ of the ḥavīj-khāna used to have a salary of 15 t. and the following fees:

from the ⅒ on presents	100	d.	
Nāẓir	10	d.	
Mustaufī	10	d.	
Ṣāḥib-jam‘	26	d.	4 dg.
Mushrif and ‘azabs in equal parts (**103b**) (*bil-musāvāt*)	1800	d.	2 dg.

1 Probably 136 d. 2 dg.

2 Perhaps: 100 d., or even 200 d. as the Ṣāḥib-jam‘ usually had twice as much as the Mushrif.

from [each] 100 tumans of sendings of the vazirs and ʿāmils, 4 tumans were divided in equal parts between the Nāẓir, the Mustaufi, the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ and the Mushrif

from the 2/10 on purchases	100	d.	
Nāẓir	10	d.	
Mustaufī	10	d.	
Ṣāḥib-jamʿ	53	d.	2 dg.
Mushrif	26	d.	4 dg.

§145. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Ghānāt used to have a salary of 8 t. 7004 d., and the following fees were assigned to him:

from [what is][1] brought in kind to the Royal Household, from what the ʿāmils send (*infādh*) in cash (*naqd*?) or [from what is spent] on the purchase of sheep, 2/100 are levied and divided in equal parts between the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ and the Mushrif (**104a**).

§146. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Mīva-khāna has a salary of 20 t., and the following fees:

from the tithe on grants and the on purchases:

Nāẓir	800	d.	
Mustaufī	900	d.	
Ṣāḥib-jamʿ	3800	d.	
Mushrif	1800	d.	
ʿazabs	1800	d.	
Keeper of the keys and Dushullukī[2]	1000	d.[3]	

from the 1/20 of what is given as salary, per tuman

Nāẓir	1000	d.	
Mustaufī	800	d.	
Ṣāḥib-jamʿ	3933	d.	2 dg.
Mushrif	*1963	d.	4 dg.
Keeper of the keys	330	d.	
pīshkidmat	250	d.	
ʿazab[s]	1320	d.	

§147. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Sharbat-khāna used to have a salary of (**104b**) 34 t. 6900 d., and the following fees:

from what the ʿāmils, etc., have included (*dar juzʾ*) in their purchases and sent (*infādh*), 1/100 are levied and divided in equal parts between the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ and the Mushrif:

from the 1/20 on purchases:

Nāẓir	5	d.	
Mustaufī	5	d.	
Ṣāḥib-jamʿ	26	d.	2 dg.
Mushrif	300	d.	2 dg.

1 Perhaps animals are meant in this case.

2 Probably the Keeper of the keys acted as collector of dushulluk.

3 The total of this column is 10,100, instead of 10,000.

lower staff (*ʿamala*)	10	d.
from the tithe on grants:	100	d.
Nāẓir	10	d.
Mustaufī	10	d.
Ṣāḥib-jamʿ (**105a**)	40	d.
Mushrif	30	d.
ʿazabs	5	d.
Keeper of the keys	5	d.

§148. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Sharbat-khāna of Ghānāt (?)[1] used to have a salary of 10 t. and fees from the ½₀ on purchases and from the ¹⁄₁₀₀ on sendings, as specified (*tafṣīl*) under the Private Household (?).[2]

§149. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Ayāgh-khāna (*sic*): Salary 14 t. 9896 d.; fees assigned to him were as follows:

from sheep skins, heads and livers	20	d.
from lamb ditto[3]	10	d.

§150. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Shira-khāna: Salary 100 t. Annual grant 12 t. fees were assigned to him as follows: (**105b**)

from the tithe on grants and the ½₀ on presents:	100	d.
Nāẓir	10	d.
Mustaufī	10	d.
Ṣāḥib-jamʿ	35	d.
Mushrif	35	d.
lower staff (*ʿamala*)	10	d.
from the ½₀ on purchases:	50	d.
Nāẓir	10	d.
Ṣāḥib-jamʿ	40	d.

§151. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Shutur-khān: Salary 20 t.

§152. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Hīma-khāna: Salary 8 t. Fees were assigned as in the Ḥavīj-khāna [§144].

§153. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Saqqā-khāna: Salary 19 t. 0740 d. Fees belonging to him were:

from the ½₀ on purchases		4 dg.
from the tithe on grants, from 100 dinars (**106a**)	80	d.

§154. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Mashʿal-khāna: Salary 12 t. Fees assigned to him were:

per tuman of the price of purchased goods (*jins*)	266	d.	4 dg.

§155. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Zargar-khāna: Salary 5 t. 6000 d.+

1 Evidently different from §145 and §147. But what relation has a sharbat-khāna to the butchery department?

2 Perhaps with reference to §147.

3 *Ayagh* in Turkish means "a foot, or a goblet" Kaempfer, 125, quotes *ayagh-khāna* as a synonym of **chīnī-khānā*.

the [fee for the] scrutiny (*dīdanī*) of the jewellery (*javāhir*) in Isfahan belonged to him, and the fees were divided between the Nāẓir and the others as follows:

Nāẓir	1000	d.	
Mustaufī of the Keepers	1000	d.	
Ṣāḥib-jamʿ	5303	d.	2 dg.
Mushrif	2366	d.	4 dg.

§156. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Misgar-khāna ("coppersmiths' workshop"): Salary 30 t.

§157. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Ābdār-khāna: Salary 87 t. 6000 d.

fees from the ½₀ on purchases (**106b**)	266	d.	4 dg.
from the sendings (*infādh*)	¹⁄₁₀₀		

§158. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Library: Salary 50 t.

fees from the printer (*bāsmachī*), zarkūb, maker of paper, maker of scissors and gilder ..... not specified

§159. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Kitchen: Salary 9 t.; fees not specified.

§160. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Stables: Salary 12 t.; fees from presents and grants, similarly to what is stated under Amīrākhor-bāshī (f. 88a).

§161. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Qahva-khāna: Salary 50 t. Grant: 2000 maunds of wheat in shāh-weight; fees have not been specified.

§162. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ (**107a**) of the Naqqāsh-khāna: Annual grant 30 t. Fees from the ½₀ on painting material (*maṣālih-i naqqāshī*) amounting to 15 d. and 206 d. 4 dg. (?).

§163. The Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the ʿaṭṭār-khāna: Salary 10 t.; fees from purchases and sendings were assigned to him, as in the other Buyūtāt.

§164. The Sarrāf-bashi of the Royal Treasury: Salary 10 t. From the gold brought to the Treasury he levies 20 d. per tuman, but if the gold proves to be false (*qalb*) or underweight (*sabuk*) he must pay damages.

PART II

ON THE SALARY (MAVĀJIB) AND TIYULS OF THE AMIRS RESIDENT ON THE FRONTIERS, AND ON THE CONTINGENTS (NAFARĪ) OF SERVICE MEN ATTACHED (MULĀZIMĀN) TO EACH OF THE BEGLARBEGIS (**107b**), GOVERNORS AND SULṬĀNS.[1]

Report (*ba maʿraḍ-i ʿarḍ mīrasānad*) on the emoluments (*madākhil*) of the amirs resident on the frontiers and on the contingents of service men, fixed for each province, as specified below.

1 "And briefly on the Revenue (*madākhil*) and Expenditure (*makhārij*) of Iran"—but this subject is treated in Part III.

Table I

Provinces.	madākhil. tumans.	dīnārs.	Men.
ĀZARBĀYJĀN.			
(a) Beglarbegi of Tabrīz and dependencies (tavābīn) [total?]	34.234	4906½	
Beglarbegi (?)	2.337	8317	900
Governors of:			
Astarā (**108a**)	5.052	5357	300
Marāgha and the Muqaddam tribe	3.729	7450	2700
district (*ulkā*) of the Afshār tribe (**108b**)	7.390	3747	2200
Qarāja-dāgh	828	4200	200
*Chors	1.168	9640	700
Gāvarūd (?)	257	7050	100
Qappānāt (*sic*)	822	5560	188
Vargahān (**109a**)	195	9500	85
Garmarūd	136	0890	25
tribe of Adarbā (?)	310	2550	150
Hashtarūd and Ṭābṭāb	119	6532	115
M.d.k (*Mukrī?)	729	3709	1179
Lāhījān (**109b**)	874	5390	590
Dunbulī tribe	319	9096	141
Ūjarūd	510	2095	70
Abdāllū (?)	88	5723	100
Sarāb	845	1706	9
Shaqāqī tribe (**110a**)	326	2022	319
Zunūz and the fortress of *Qarnïyarīq	455	5280	150
Mishkīn	136	9856	60
the irrigated part (*anhār*) of the arable lands of Mughānāt	2.202	2222	50
fortress of P.sh.k	57	5090	15
sulṭan of Lak of Salmās (**110b**)	349	3748	100
Qara-aghāch of Tālish	216	8352	40
Ināllū shāhī-sevans	1.130	0980	80
Sulhāniya and Zanjān	1.160	2059	873
(b) Beglarbegi of Chukhūr-i Sa'd and dependencies [total]	25.910	6326	
Beglarbegi (**111a**)	20.539	0000	2860
Governors of:			
tuman of Nakhchivān	3.461	4346	799
Mākū	580	2888	150
Zārūzbīl (?)	438	4675	200
Ṣadarak	65	4358	54
fortress of Bāyazīd (**111b**)	306	3487	100
Shādīlū tribe	20	0000	30
Dunbulī Kurds	10	0000	40
*Maghāzberd	115	6572	54
	[25.536	6326]	[4287]

Provinces.	madākhil. tumans.	dīnārs.	Men.
(c) Beglarbegi of Qarābāgh and dependencies	24.726	0978	
(**112a**) Beglarbegi of (?) the lords of Qarābāgh known (?) as Kākhet[1]	28.614	9435	1430
Governors of:			
Zagam	5.998	5980	1200
Bardaʿ	3.792	2735	515
Akhtābād (?)	852	5930	700
Javānshīr (**112b**)	2.102	8000	832
Bergüshāt	341	2750	300
Qarā-aghāch	636	5434	210
Lori and Pambak	1.545	8434	550
Arasbār and the Bāyazīdlū tribe	601	8345	300
district of Samāvī [*Somāy] and Tergavar[2]	300	2945	47
	[16.472	0553]	[6084]
(d) Beglarbegi of Shīrvān and dependencies (**113a**)			
Beglarbegi	21.983	9033	2581
Governors of:			
Sāliyān, Qubba, Qulhān [of whom]:			
Sāliyān	3.342	3845	860
Qubba	7.700	0000	
Aresh and Shekkī	8.476	2465	355
Bāb al-abvāb of Darband	6.487	3955	1600
Alpāʾūt (**113b**)	8.084	4727	230
Bādkūba	500	0000	100
Chamishgazak and Aghdāsh	1.002	6195	30
KHORĀSĀN.			
(e) Beglarbegi of Herat and dependencies			
Beglarbegi of Herat and dependencies (**114a**)	15.277	6034	2682
Governors of:			
Mārūchāq	3.267	5531	97
Farāh	4.989	6873	603
Khwāf **(114b)**	1.434	2624	271
Jām	*1.682	0220	500
Bālā-Murghāb	883	3466	100
Panj-dih	958	4673	150
Bādghīs **(115a)**	109	6151	30
*Karokh	442	3737	199
Dūrmī (?)	450	7091	500

1 The text is out of order, v.i., p. 188. Possibly the reference to Kakhetia is to be connected with the following item: "governor of Zagam." Zagam (in Georgian Dzaghn) is in the present day Zakatali district.

2 The last three items look entirely out of place under Qarābāgh, unless the Beglarbegi had some personal or financial rights in the regions lying so far west.

Provinces.	madākhil. tumans.	dīnārs.	Men.
Ghūr	103	1600	30
Tūn **(115b)**	1.290	3100	300
	[15.611	5066]	[2780]
(f) Beglarbegi of the sacred Mashhad and dependencies			
Beglarbegi	7.443	9195	670
Governors of:			
Sarakhs	2.099	3024	437
Nīshāpūr **(116a)**	2.170	8300	719
Turshīz	994	2972	616
Abīvard	3.588	7828	550
Āzādvār	139	3533	21
Nasā **(116b)**	2.812	0337	555
Sabzavār (whose) governor (is) the vazīr of the whole of Khorasan[1]	1.302	1151	272
Isfarā'īn	918	7208	130
Ḥwrūz-va y.sākū (?)	216	7353	45
Durūn **(117a)**	2.923	3329	1320
Turbat	379	4701	55
B.zāvandaq	117	1287	50
	[25.106	0218	5440]
*(g) Governor (*sic*) of Dār al-qarār Qandahār and dependencies.*			
Beglarbegī **(117b)**	blank		1123
Governors of:			
Zamīn-dāvar and Ghūriyān			463
cash (*naqd*)	2.015	0306	
trees (*ashjār*?), originally without indication of the sum (*bi-lā mablagh*)	8.331[2]		
Kūshk	1.847	8920	199
tribes (*īl*) of K.rī, Lūka, Bādghīs, Tīmūrī, 'Alī-Khwāja [and?] Mīr 'Ārif Balūch:			
salary (*mavājib*)	30	0000	
(h) Beglarbegī of Marv, etc **(118a)**			
Beglarbegī of Marv	7.193	6140	2352
(i) Governor of Sīstān	1.291	4980	1000
ASTARĀBĀD.			
Beglarbegī of Astarābād and dependencies			
Beglarbegī	10.553	4860	1503
Governors of **(118b)**:			

1 Literally: "governor of S. and vazir of the whole of Kh." The term *vazīr* apparently indicates that the official acted on behalf of the Royal Khāṣṣa.

2 Trees, not tomans?

Provinces.	madākhil. tumans.	dīnārs.	Men.
Gira'ī district (*ulkā*)	1.406	0145	500
Ḥājjīlar	659		320
Jalāyir	72	7000	100
K.rā-chūpī and the bulūk adjoining the steppe (*rū-yi ṣaḥrā*) (**119a**)	200	0000	30
Goklān, etc. :			
Goklān [Turcomans]	blank		
Yamūt [Turcomans]	blank		
	[12.891	2005	2453]
DĀR AL-MARZ (Gīlān), etc.[1]			
Governors:			
Gaskar	5.052	5354	1200
Kohdom	1.207	4943	200
Rān-e kū **(119b)**	3.903	6974	a. 450 b. 100
Tonekābon	2.142	5040	575
KIRMĀN.[2]	blank		blank
'IRĀQ.			
Beglarbegi (**120a**) *of Qalamrau [Hamadān] and dependencies.*			
Beglarbegi of Qalamrau	7.779	9755	700
Governors of:			
Garrūs, district of Zarrīn-kamar and Ṭ.qānmīn (?)	973	9917	140
district of Hashtādjuft:			
sometimes (*daf'a*)	227	4740	57
sometimes	without indication of the sum		
Harsīn (**120b**)	328	3900+	150
Other independent amīrs:[3]			
governor of Kalhur	3.271	4000	1000
Khwār and Simnān	2.180	2015	500
Sāva and Ḥāva [Āva] **(121b)**	1.309	2093	250
district (*ulkā*) of Rayy	1.862	7550	150
KURDISTĀN, etc.			
Beglarbegi	blank		1000
Governors of:			
Khorkhora **(121b)**	362	7000	blank
Javānrūd	1.100	0000	100
*Avramān	1.100	0000	100

1 No mention of a beglarbegi! According to Sanson, 45, there was a vazīr at Rasht.

2 V.i., p. 192,

3 *Umarā ki tābīn nīstand.*

Provinces.	madākhil. tumans.	dīnārs.	Men.
?[1]	2.300	0000	200
Luristān-i Feylī	blank		blank
Bakhtiyārī **(122a)**	3.370	3320	361[2]
district of *Bāna	without indication of the sum		50
FĀRS.			
Beglarbegi of Kūgīlū and dependencies.			
Beglarbegi	12.000	0000	2000
Governors of:			
[Kūgīlū?]	6.747	7562⅔	500
Baḥrayn **(122b)**	3.839	0000	899
Zaydābāt	1.833	5313	600
Sarvistān	1.343	5002	150
Dauraq	5.877	7450	478
Bandar-i mubāraka-yi ʿAbbāsī **(123a)**	4.860	0000	1078
Dashtistān[3]	2.000		200
Vālī of ʿArabistān	blank		blank
Sumayram	1.045	6108½	150

[PART III]

[4]BRIEF ACCOUNT OF REVENUE (**123b**) AND EXPENDITURE OF THE PROVINCES (*VILĀYĀT*) OF IRAN

Table II

(A) REVENUE

Cash			785.623	8809
Kind:	mūmiyā:	8½ maunds 80 mithqāls.		
	falcons:	4 dasts.		
	yāsāqī men:	500 men.		

(a) ADMINISTRATION[5] OF DIVAN

Cash and money substitute for taxes in kind (*qīmat-i jins*)			608.652	3404
Kind:	mūmiyā:	8½ maunds 80 mithqāls.		
	falcons:	4 dasts.		
	yāsāqī (**124a**) men:	500 men.		

1 These items may refer respectively to Avromān-i Luhūn (western) and Avromān-i Takht (eastern).

2 Note: "on campaign in ʿIrāq."

3 The last four items certainly not under Kūgīlū.

4 In his haste, the author has forgotten his announcement, f. 84b, that the Conclusion will consist of three parts, and has treated Part III as a second section of Part II.

5 In this paragraph *sarkār* has got to be translated in two different ways. The large headings *Sarkār-i dīvānī* and *Sarkār-i khāṣṣa* are "Administration of Dīvān and Khāṣṣa," while the items under them refer to various "accounts" into which the sums were paid.

Account of the Avāraja of ʿIrāq.[1]

Account of the Mines:		
Cash	1.423	0200+
Kind: mūmiyā: 8½ maunds 80 mithqāls.		
1. Kirmān [cash]	17.713	7000+
Account of the Avāraja of Khorāsān	5.176	6000+
Account of the Ḍābiṭa	7.542	2900+
Account of the Khāṣṣa	3.432	4700+
Account of the Mines (**124b**)	1.223	0800+
Account of the Avāraja of ʿIrāq	339	2500+
	[17.713	6900]
2. Khūzistān [cash]	117.629	5850
falcons: 4 dasts.		
Account of the [Avāraja of?] Khorasan	92.582	6300+
Account of the Khāṣṣa	5.255	6100+
Account of the [Avāraja of?] ʿIrāq	207	4700+
Account of the Keeper: (*arbāb-i taḥāvil*): cash	405	6000
falcons: 4 dasts.		
	[98.451	3100]

(b) ADMINSTRATION OF KHĀṢṢA, ETC (**125a**)

Private Household	*176.224[2]	5489
Account of the Keepers	746	6916
	[176.971	2405]
3. ʿIrāq [cash:]	213.416	6058
Men: 500		
Account of the Avāraja of ʿIrāq		
cash	126.768	1000+
yāsāqī men: 500		
Account of the Khāṣṣa (**125b**)	66.552	0304+
Account of the Ḍābiṭa	19.423	4500+
Account of the Mines	821	1300+
Account of the Keepers	251	5800+
	[213.616	2904]
4. Fārs		
Cash and money substitute for kind	142.001	3000+
Kind: mūmiyā: 8½ maunds 70 mithqāls		
Account of the Avāraja of Fārs	76.464	3000+
Account of the Ḍābiṭa	37.158	2800+
Account of the Khāṣṣa	26.189	4000
Account of the Keepers	39	5000
Account of the Ḍābiṭa [bis?] (**126a**)	15.003	2400+

1 See under Kirmān, Khūzistān, ʿIrāq.

2 Read so instead of 186.224: the right amount results from the total revenue minus the total of the Divan Administration.

Account of the Mines	4.178	0000+
	[159.032	7200]
5. Āzarbāyjān [cash:]	161.969	8400+
Account of the Avāraja of Āzarbāyjān	126.437	6900+
Account of the ?	2.177	*4902+
Account of the Ḍābiṭa	26.826	0400+
Account of the Khāṣṣa	6.156	*5802+
	[161.597	8004]
6. Dār al-Marz (Gīlān)(**126b**) [cash:]	*69.102	7000+
Account of the Khāṣṣa	68.198	9000
Account of the Ḍābiṭa	10	0000
Account of the Mines	907	7900+
	[69.116	6900]
7. Shīrvān [cash:]	63.784	8900+
Account of the Ḍābiṭa (**127a**)	8.477	2100
Account of the Khāṣṣa	849	0500+
Account of the [Avāraja of] Āzarbāyjān	49.860	0400+
Account of the Mines	4.547	6800
Account of the Keepers	50	0000
	[63.784	8800]

(B) EXPENDITURE (*kharj*) **Table III**

Cash	*625.273	6000+
Other: yāsāqī men of Kalhur: 500		
Administration of Divan	507.400	6300+
Administration of Khāṣṣa (**127b**)	*117.873	9300+
	[625.274	5600]
Tiyūl and Hama-sāla Salary.		
Cash	491.896	5700
Other: yāsāqī men of Kalhur tribe: 500		
Tiyūl and substitute (*ʿavaḍ*) for tiyūl:		
Cash	375.366	3000+
Other: yāsāqī men of Kalhur tribe: 500		
Hama-sāla salary	116.530(?)	2400+
	491.896	5400+

[namely?]:

1. Representatives of H.H. the Grand-mother, etc.:	2.191	6300
Deputy (*vakīl*) of the honourable Grandmother	2.000	0000
Ditto of the Navvāb Maryam-begum[1]	191	6300
	2.191	6300

1 Shah Sulaymān's favourite aunt. Sanson, *o.c.*, 125, has a long story how, having lost her first husband, the Ṣadr, she fell in love with the Qūrchī-bāshī Sārū-khan (towards A.D. 1691). Shah Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was put on the throne at her suggestion (*ḥasab al-khwāhish va ṣalāḥ-i Maryam-begum*), see *Z.T.*, f. 205a.

2. Amīrs and Governors:		
Cash (*naqd*)	396.792	0000+
yāsāqī men: 500		
tiyūl and its substitute:		
cash **(128a)**	349.500	4300+
hama-sāla salary	blank	
yāsāqī men: 500		
3. Farrāshes	5.956	5000+
tiyūl	4.404	4800+
salary	1.552	0300+
	[5.956	5100]
4. Yasāvulān-i ṣuḥbat, eshīk-āqāsīs of the Harem and the Divan, āqāyān	4.721	7420
tiyūl	2.746	4000+
salary	1.975	2300+
	[4.721	6300+]
5. Doctors [but cf. f. 33b]	4.998	1300+
tiyūl	1.076	4700+
hama-sāla salary	3.921	6500+
	[4.998	1200]
6. Workers (*ʿamala*) of the Buyūtāt	6.542	1000+
tiyūl	1.289	5300+
salary	5.252	5300+
	[6.542	0600]
7. Yasāvuls **(128b)**	1.587	1700+
tiyūl	378	7380
salary	1.208	3000+
	[1.587	0380]
8. Artillery men	1.942	5000+
tiyūl	434	1300+
hama-sāla salary	1.508	3700
	[1.942	5000]
9. Qūrchis	25.572	6700+
tiyūl	4.473	1100+
salary	21.089	5300+
	[25.562	6400]
10. Ghulāms	18.261	5200
tiyūl	6.378	5500+
salary **[128b]**	11.882	9700+
	[18.261	5200]
11. Tufangchīs, rīkās and other categories (*tavāʿif*) comprised under tufangchis	21.960	3300+
salary	21.701	9700+

12. Ghāzīs of Pāzūkī tribe, etc.:				
hama-sāla	2.777	5850		
13. Garrisons (*mustaḥfiẓ*) of fortresses in				
the ports of Fārs, etc.	2.124	8700+		
14. Other people, Georgian women				
(*ʿaurāt*), etc.	7.892	1700+		
tiyūl	1.524	3500+		
hama-sāla salary	6.367	8200+		
	[7.892	1700]		
			[503.320	9170]
Tahvīl			40.391	4569
Ṣāḥib-jamʿs of the Buyūtāt			33.447	0500+
Staff (*ʿamala*) of studs (*īlkhī*): perquisites (*marsūm*),				
etc.			943	9000+
Governor of Bafrayn, for buying pearls			1.000	0000
Others:				
to Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, maker of camphor candles, etc.			1.092	5300+
			[36.483	9800]
Soyūrghāl, etc. (**130a**)			93.032	5000+
soyūrghāl and muʾāfī			36.777	8800+
vaẓīfa ("pensions")			5.361	9700+
Muqarrarī, madad-i maʾāsh and madad-i kharj of the				
Chengizid Rustam-khan, etc.			9.414	0000
grants			3.120	2400+
badal-i ijāra			321	2800+
cost and expenditure (*qīmat va ikhrājāt*) of the musal-				
lamī silk			7.075	6300+
ikhrājāt: (**130b**)				
subsidy (*maʾūnat*) to agriculture, hire of lodgings for guests (*kirāya-yi manāzil*), etc., ḥaqq al-saʿy to officials, bird seed (*chīna*), tips for water (*ḥaqq al-shurb*?), fuel for ḥammām, etc.			23	6800
zakāt:				
khums, alms, lighting of the mosque, "right of management" of the Overseer of the tombs of the Khāqān-i Ṣāḥib-qirān and the Navvāb-i Ṭūbā-āshiyān[1]			5.140	4300+

1 The Safavid kings had all special post mortem titles: Ismāʿīl I: *khāqān-i Sulaymān-shān*; Tahmāsp: *Shāh-i jannat-makān*; Muḥammad Khudā-banda: *navvāb-i Sikandar-shān*; his wife: *navvāb-i marḥūma*. The first title mentioned in our text must belong to ʿAbbās II for this King re-introduced the use on the coins of the title *ṣāḥib-qirān*, "Master of the auspicious conjunction." see R. S. Poole, *The Coins*, LXVIII, LXXVIII. The second title belongs to Shah Sulaymān, see *Z.T.*, Or. 3498, f. 175a.

substitute for the tithes of the ports, [namely] the quota
falling to the lot (*rasad*?) of the Europeans (*firang*),
English (*Ingīs*, sic) and Portuguese (*Portogāl*)[1] ..... blank
[67.235 1100+]

Finished the Book
with the assistance of God, the generous Giver.

1 The reference is to the half of the revenue of the Bandar-ʿAbbāsī custom house ceded to the English for their help in 1622, as well as to the half of the revenue of Bandar-Kong promised to the Portuguese for the cession of Baḥrayn, v.i., p. 205. But is it by way of euphemism that these payments are called *ʿavaḍ-i ʾushūr*?

COMMENTARY

SINGLE OFFICES

Chapters I–V consist of 84 paragraphs, each recording the duties of an official, and sometimes those of his colleagues and subordinates as well. In the section on salaries (Conclusion, Part I), 28 additional officials are referred to,[1] which brings our list up to 112 items. Our record with regard to higher offices of the Central Administration is presumably complete, but from Chardin and Kaempfer we learn of the existence of a few more officials of middle and lower rank.[2]

The data of the *T.M.* on the provincial and military organisation are scantier and here European sources form a most welcome supplement to our text.

CHAPTER I

SPIRITUAL POWERS

The general tendency of the Safavids with regard to Islamic institutions was to hamper their activities by increasing the number of law-courts, by creating confusion as to the extent of their jurisdiction and by bringing the divines under the pressure of temporal powers.[3]

§1. The office of Mullā-bāshī was easily overlooked by European authorities, for, according to the *T.M.*, the title was first officially conferred on Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī by Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, who ascended the throne in 1105/1694. Indeed, we learn that under Shāh Sulaymān the official position of Majlisi was that of Shaykh al-Islām. M. B. Majlisi died at the age of 73, on 27 Ramaḍan, 1110/29 March, 1699. The office of Mullā-bāshī survived down to Nādir-shāh's time. Thanks to Muḥammad Kāẓim's newly discovered *Kitāb-i Nādirī*, we now have confirmation of the fact that the Mulla-bashi Mīrzā ʿAbdul-Ḥasan was executed on the eve of Nadir's election (March, 1736) for having been overheard to say: "Everybody is in favour of the Safavid dynasty." In his stead, Nādir appointed Mullā ʿAli Akbar, who took part in an embassy to Constantinople.[4] In later times the title seems to have been applied chiefly to the teachers of the Princes.[5] On some prerogatives of the Chief Astrologer encroached upon by the Mullā-bāshī, see f. 24a.

1 Their functions are discussed in appropriate places under the respective paragraphs of Chapters I–V. See their table on p. 38. One official (*ṣāḥib-nasaq*) is several times referred to in the text (ff. 17b, 50b. 53b, 80a), but his functions are not specified.

2 Cf. on the *mihmāndār-bāshī*, Chardin, V, 372, Kaempfer, 82: Sanson, 38. Under the Qājārs the *mihmandars* were appointed *ad hoc* in each individual case.

3 Chardin, VI, 55, and especially 71, on the enforcement by the King of the *ʿUrf* in all the cases when the latter conflicted with the *Sharīʿat*. Cf. pp. 119, 120.

4 Lockhart, *Nadir-shah*, 101–2.

5 Towards 1905 the buffoon of a governor of Kirman figured in the rolls as *mullā-bāshī*; see A. Y. Miller, *Maliat Kerman, oblasti*, St. Petersburg, 1909, p. 141

We have mentioned above (p. 11) the strange dislike of the author for Mīrzā M. Bāqir Majlisī, the all-powerful restorer of the Shīʿa orthodoxy, whom his homonym biographer Muḥammad Bāqir Khwānsārī calls *Maulānā … al-baḥr al-muḥīt al-ʿaql al-basīṭ al-ʿadl al-wasīṭ*, etc., see *Rauḍāt al-jannāt*, Tehran, 1306/1886, p. 118. Of the other theologians referred to in §1, Āqā jamāl al-dīn b. Ḥusayn Khwānsārī died on 26 Ramadan, 1121/29 November, 1709, *ibid*., p. 155. Mīr muḥammad ḥusayn b. Mīr muḥammad ṣāliḥ Khātūn-ābādī died on 23 Shawwāl, 1151/3 February, 1739. His mother was a daughter of M. B. Majlisī, and he inherited his grandfather's influence, *ibid*., 198 (margin). According to the author of the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, the Vazīr-i Aʿẓam Fatḥ ʿAlī khan was blinded in 1133/1720 on the suggestion of the Mullā-bāshī Muḥammad Ḥusayn. This may be one of the "bad practices" to which our author refers towards the end of §1.

§2. The functions of the Ṣadrs underwent a considerable evolution during the rule of the Safavids. For the earlier period we have a record in the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 107, which[1] sums up their duties as follows: "they must introduce (*taqdīm*) the sayyids and the 'wearers of turbans' and act as deputies in their affairs, administer the Endowments and pay out the sums for Sharīʿat purposes (*maʿārif*)" Under Tahmāsp there were always two Ṣadrs, but their division into *khāṣṣa* and *ʿāmma* is not yet recorded.

Chardin, VI, 46, calls the Ṣadr "le grand pontife," similar to the Mufti of the Turks, and says that he is the chief of the "chambre des comptes (*dīvān*) de l'église." Originally the Ṣadr was called *Ṣadr-i mauqūfāt*. ʿAbbās II, desirous of diminishing the power of the Ṣadr, left the post vacant for 18 months after he had appointed the Ṣadr to be his Prime Minister. Sulaymān separated the ṣadrs, khāṣṣa and ʿāmma,[2] of whom the first was entrusted with the Endowments of the kings and the latter with those of private persons. The Ṣadr-i khāṣṣa had a higher rank than his colleague. At assemblies he sat on the king's left, the place on his right being occupied by the Grand Vazir. The Ṣadrs were usually called *navvāb*, Sanson, 19, Kaempfer, 98, and they often married royal princesses. Very curiously Sanson, 200, states that the Ṣadr had the power to allow renegades to return to Christianity if they found the Islamic law too exacting for them.

Our text must be understood in the sense that there were two distinct spiritual chiefs: Ṣadr-i khāṣṣa and Ṣadr-i ʿāmma (otherwise: *Ṣadr-i mamālik*); occasionally only the two offices were united in a single person. It is distinctly stated that the representative of the Sharīʿat in the Dīvān-begī's tribunal was the Ṣadr-i khāṣṣa. The territorial definition of the latter's competence undoubtedly follows the general lines of delimitation between the Dīvān and the Khāṣṣa and is very useful for the commentary on the budgetary part of the *T.M.* (v.i., p. 183). As regards the leadership of all the divines and the administration of the Endowments, our

1 À propos of the disgrace which befell the sayyids of Uskūya under Shah Tahmāsp, cf. *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 301–2.

2 According to Kaempfer, 98–100, this happened in 1670. In 1680 Sulaymān had the Ṣadr-i khāṣṣa beaten on the soles of his feet on a false accusation, and in the interval administered the pious foundations himself.

source follows the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, but the point on the presence of the Ṣadr at the Dīvān-begī's tribunal illustrates the Safavid tendency to abate the independence of the Islamic clergy (v.s., p. 121).

§3. Chardin, VI, 54–5, places the QĀḌĪ after the Shaykh al-Islām, adding that the judicial functions of the two were badly delimited, although in practice this led to no great inconveniences, the court of the Dīvān-begī being considered as the instance of appeal. "Le cazy a peu de pouvoir (en Perse) depuis quelques siècles, qu'on a pris à tâche de l'abaisser, afin qu'il ne fît plus d'ombrage à l'autorité politique, comme il faisait auparavant." The object was attained by creating the offices of the Ṣadr and of the Shaykh al-Islām "qu'on a autorisé aux mêmes fonctions que la charge du cazy mais qui sont en plus haute considération, à cause du crédit auquel ceux qui en sont revêtus parviennent ordinairement par la grandeur de leurs alliances," i.e. by their marriages with Royal princesses.

The Qāḍī's jurisdiction extended especially to wills, marriages and divorces, *ibid*., 97, cf. Sanson, 24, Kaempfer, 101. Chardin, VI, 84, speaks of a special *bayt al-māljī*, "prévôt de la maison du bien irréclamé," but our text suggests that the Qāḍī was the official responsible for the conservation of the property of the absent and orphans, i.e. that he was in charge of the *bayt al-māl*.

§4. Our text confirms the confusion between the attributes of the Shaykh al-Islām and the Qāḍī, but contrary to the *T.M*., Chardin, VI, 53, affirms that the Shaykh al-Islām, owing to his credit at the Court,[1] was considered "comme le premier et le plus juridique tribunal." This difference of opinion may be explained by some personal merits of the contemporary holder of the office or by some new meandering of the religious policy of the Safavids (v.s., p. 110).

§5. This paragraph too indicates gradual changes in religious institutions. Originally the QĀḌĪ-ʿASKAR must have been a kind of chaplain to the army, and we learn from the *Jahān-ārā*, f. 192a, that in this capacity the author's grandfather accompanied Uzun-Ḥasan's army to Tiflis (in 1476), and was the first to recite the Islamic creed in that Christian town.[2] Under the Safavids the Qāḍī-ʿaskar acted as the Sharīʿat adviser to the Dīvān-begī, but in these functions was supplanted by the Ṣadr. Towards the end of Safavid rule the Qāḍī-ʿaskar was reduced to the insignificant position of a registrar of soldiers' claims.

CHAPTER II

ON THE GREAT AMIRS

In a short but valuable introduction the author first outlines the provincial administration, on which we learn much more from Part II of the Conclusion, and then speaks of the Pillars of the State residing in the capital.

1 Like the Ṣadrs, the Shaykh al-Islams often married royal princesses, Chardin, VI, 55.

2 In the Ottoman judicial system the Qādī-ʿaskar occupied the highest place, cf. Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung*, II, 378. The term *qāḍī-ʿaskar* replaced *ṣadr* under Murād I. Muḥammad II nominated two qāḍī-ʿaskars, one for Rumelia and one for Anatolia; during campaigns each qāḍī-ʿaskar had to accompany the Sulṭan within the territory under his jurisdiction, but finally the judge of Rumelia eclipsed his colleague.

A. Among the Border Amirs ("Wardens of the Marches") the highest rank was represented by the four Vālīs. They all belonged to ancient families of hereditary rulers and, in spite of their incorporation in the Safavid state, enjoyed practical independence. Their revenue was not included in the budget and, apart from military assistance, they owed their suzerain nothing but tribute disguised as gifts.

The vālīs of ʿArabistān were sayyids of the *Mushaʿshaʿ* family and resided at Ḥawīza in Khūzistān, Their activities can be traced from A.D. 1436 down to our own times, see Minorsky, *Mushaʿshaʿ* in *E.I.* (Supplement).

The vālīs of northern Luristān ruled between A.D. 1184 and 1597, and, although at the latter date Shāh-verdi khan was executed by Shāh ʿAbbās, the family tradition was carried on by the vālīs of the diminished territory of Pusht-i kūh (to the west of the upper Kerkha), see Minorsky, *Lur-i Kūchik* in *E.I.*

The vālīs of Georgia were the lawful kings of the ancient Bagratid dynasty. Already Ismāʿīl I and Tahmāsp led several expeditions to Georgia. The period of Safavid suzerainty was interrupted by the Ottoman conquest (A.D. 1578–1603), but Shāh ʿAbbās reoccupied Transcaucasia. He placed on the throne of Kartlia Bagrat VI, a convert to Islam, and decimated Kakhetia; some 60–70 thousand people were killed and 100–130 thousand captives were carried off to Persia, see *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 635. Since then, down to the second period of Ottoman dominion (1723–34), Georgia remained a vassal state to Persia, while, in compensation, the rôle of the Georgian element in internal Persian affairs became very conspicuous. The important office of governor (*dārūgha*) of Isfahan was usually held by a Georgian prince; Georgians were appointed to governorships, and in the harems Georgian influence was paramount, v.s., p. 18, and cf. Minorsky, *Tiflis* in *E.I.*

The vālīs of Kurdistan of the Ardalan family resided at Senna (Senanduj). The origins of the dynasty go back to Timurid (?) times.[1] Under 1035/1625 the *ʿĀlam-ārā* styles Khān Ahmad khān *ba-istiqlāl ḥākim-i Ardalān va mutaṣarrif-i mulk-i maurūth va beglarbegi-yi Shahrazūl*. The last representative of the dynasty was replaced by a Qajar prince in 1868, see B. Nikitine, *Les valis d'Ardalan*, in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, XLIX, 70–104, and Minorsky, *Senna and Sīsar* in *E.I.*[2]

The Bakhtiyari tribes, of Lur origin, occupy the territories of Lur-i Buzurg,[3] see Minorsky in *E.I.*, which between A.D. 1155 and 1423 were ruled by atabeks of the Faḍlavī dynasty whose capital was at Mālamīr. It was probably in Safavid times that the elevation of the local khans began. They never rose to the rank of vāli, but their importance became evident after the fall of Nādir shāh's dynasty, when

1 This family name is apparently derived from some Turkish rank. A borough in the Bakhtiyāri country is called Ardal. In Persian usage *ardel* (*ardāl*) applies to some kind of aide-de-camp. Its derivation from English "orderly" is imaginary.

2 Chardin, v, 256, says that the governors of Sīstān had the title of *vālī*. Khondamir, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, II, 125, gives "the vālī of Sīstan" the title of *shahriyār*. Their family claimed to be of Ṣaffārid and even Kayānid (!) origin. In 1723–4 Malik Maḥmūd Sīstānī assumed royal prerogatives in Mashhad. The *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 188, calls Choha-sulṭan *vālī-yi Kalhur*, but *ibid*., 208, Dhul-fiqār (Musullu) is called *ḥākim-i Kalhur*, cf. *Sharaf-nāma*, II, 174; *ḥākim-i Kalhuristān*.

3 *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 762: *Lur-i Bakhtiyarī*; very probably the term Bakhtiyārī, which is not found before the Safavids, is derived from the name of some chief.

ʿAlī Mardān khan (A.D. 1750–4), under the title of vakīl, usurped power for a short time.

The beglarbegis were Governors-General individually appointed by the central government, although in special cases the sons could hope to succeed their fathers. A detailed list of beglarbegis and their deputy governors is given in Conclusion, Part II (ff. 107b–123b). Qazvīn as the seat of a beglarbegi is quoted only on f. 7b.

B. The functions of the AMĪRS RESIDING AT THE COURT form the particular object of the *T.M.*, f. 8a. Lists of the highest dignitaries of state are also found in contemporary European sources,[1] with but insignificant variants. The term *janqī* used for the Council of State points to the Mongol or Timurid origin of the institution.[2] Chardin, V, 237, says that there was no Council of State in Persia similar to the European institution. Only in case of war did the Shah convene his principal officers, and on such occasions auguries were taken from the book "Karajaméa" supposed to have been written by Shaykh Ṣafī.[3] However, "les grands ne laissent pas de conférer des affaires ensemble, ce qui se fait journellement soir et matin à la porte du Sérail dans un appartement destiné à cela, qu'on appelle Kechic Kané, c'est à dire, la maison de la garde. … Ils confèrent de tout ce qui arrive d'important, et à quoi il faut que le roi donne ordre. Le roi envoie d'ordinaire les requêtes qu'il a reçues, afin d'avoir l'avis des ministres sur ce qu'on y doit répondre, et les mémoires des affaires sur lesquelles il faut aussi avoir leur avis."[4] Sanson, 138, says that all the decisions are taken in the King's Council, and expresses a high opinion on the capacity of Persians to deliberate: "ils donnent aux affaires toute l'attention qu'elles méritent et ne forment pas leurs décisions que sur des réflexions exactes."

The Council of Ministers rose to a particular importance in periods of interregnum. During the earlier part of the Safavid dominion the representatives of the unruly Shāhī-sevan tribes struggled in arms for their candidates. Shah ʿAbbas had selected as his successor his grandson Sām (= Ṣāfī)-mīrzā, but the latter was in Isfahan when the Shah died in Mazandaran, and the ministers, with the participation of the Ṣūfī organisation (§16), prepared and sealed a document confirming the succession, *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 737. Very interesting is Chardin's account, IX, 425–67,

1 Du Mans, 14–25; Chardin, V, 333–79, 451–3 and *passim*, Kaempfer, 60–140, Sanson, 19–47.

2 *Janqi* is a Mongolian word meaning "a knot," *Muqaddimat al-adab*, 98, 201. In Chardin, V, 239, it is found mis-spelt: *ichengui*. The term *janqi* frequently occurs in the *Z.T.*, cf. f. 203: *guftugū-va-jānqī*, A.D. 1711, after Mīr Vays's revolt in Qandahār; f. 205: *janqī-va-maṣlahat*, A.D. 1717, after the defeat of Safī-quli khan near Herat. Cf. *Ẓafar nāma*, II, 502.

3 The author of the *Afḍal al-tavārīkh* (Vol. I, Eton College Library, Ms.M. 172, f. 2b) mentions as his first source the *Maqāmāt va-Maqālāt* of Shaykh Ṣafī al-dīn, i.e. the extraordinary events of the life of his ancestors and his own down to 735/1334; he wrote them in Persian and Turkish, in a book (*safīna*) called *Qarā-majmūʿa* and gave them the title of *Siyar-i ṣūfiya*. This must be the book referred to by Chardin. According to Tarbiyat, *Dānishmandān-i Āzarbāyjān*, 1314/1935, p. 234, the only copy of the *Qarā-majmūʿa* is in the treasury (*khazāna*, "library") of the Safavid kings; some quotations from it are found in the anthology of a certain Gharībī.

4 Ministerial activities were greatly hampered by another unofficial council held in the Harem by the Queen mother, the principal eunuchs and the more influential favourite wives, *ibid.*, V, 240

of the deliberations held by the Ministers before they voted for the future Shāh Sulaymān. The latter's eldest son Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was nominated at the indication (*ḥasab al-ṣalāḥ*) of the Princess Maryam-begum who made the amirs, the khwāja-sarās, the khans and the chiefs seal a document of agreement to this lawful succession.

At the Safavid court there existed an established ceremonial to which the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 758, refers as *tartīb-i muqarrar va āyīn-i maʿḥūd-i qizīl-bāsh*, but apparently the personal prestige of the holders of offices could influence and modify to their advantage the order of precedence. Very probably the list of the *T.M.* follows the fixed rules of the administrative hierarchy. On the other hand, the European sources (Olearius, Du Mans, Chardin, Kaempfer, etc.) echo in their enumeration more casual factors of time and political combinations. With particular care, Chardin, IX, 423–4, describes the order in which the dignitaries were seated at the meeting which was to decide the succession to Shah ʿAbbās II.

> On the right sat the Grand Vazir and below him the ministers referred to in our §§8, 11, 12, 15 and 20. On the left sat the Tufangchi-aqasi (§10) and below him Nos. 17, 13 and 21, and the two chief eunuchs, while the Eshik-aqasi-bashi (§9) and, slightly behind him the Mihtar (f. 32a) were apparently standing between the Grand Vazir and the Tufangchi-aqasi. This order (excepting Nos. 17 and 13) more or less corresponds to the enumeration of the *T.M.*, although we cannot account for the absence from the meeting of such important dignitaries as No. 7.

The title *ʿālī-jāh*, which only the fourteen highest dignitaries enjoyed under the Safavids, became degraded under the Qājārs so as to be applied only to the lowest ranks of officers and civil servants, such as messengers, village headmen, etc.

§6. The Grand Vazir, usually called in our source: Vazīr-i aʿẓam-i dīvān-i aʿlā, was naturally among the Pillars of the State (*rukn al-daula*), but he alone was called *Iʿtimād al-daula*, a title which under the pen of Europeans took the form of *Athemadeulat*, Du Mans, 17, etc. Under the early Safavids, these titles do not occur, and the highest dignitary of state is usually called *Vakīl*. After the accession of the youthful Ismāʿīl in 907/1501, his former tutor, Ḥusayn-beg Lala was appointed *vakīl-i nafs-i nafīs-i humāyūn*, i.e. "His Majesty's personal Lieutenant" or Vice-Roy, *H.S.*, III/4, 341. In 913/1507 his title was transferred on to Najm al-dīn Masʿūd, who was commissioned to "carry on the administrative and financial affairs (*mulk-u-māl*), his rank being placed two degrees (*pāya*) above the other amirs, *ibid.*, 349.[1] After him Najm-i Thānī united the ranks of vakīl and amīr al-umarā, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 107, 111. In 920/1514 Shāh-Ḥusayn Isfahānī was raised to the "high rank of vakīl in the affairs of the dīvān-i vizārat," *A.T.*, 177. His successor, Jalāl al-dīn Tabrīzī, who contented himself with the title of "independent vazir," was burnt alive by his rival amīr al-umarā, *ibid.*, 184. Under Shah Tahmāsp

1 *A.T.*, 107: wrongly *amīr al umarā*, but 110, rightly *vakīl*.

we again hear of a vakīl, Maʿsūm-beg Ṣafavi,[1] issued from a side branch of the royal house, *A.T.*, 443, *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 118, 761.

In comparison with the vakīl, the vazir is usually mentioned in the second place, e.g. in 907/1501, simultaneously with the nomination of Ḥusayn-beg Lala, Mīrzā Zakariyā was appointed to be "vazīr and ṣāḥib-dīvān." Under ʿAbbās I the title of vakīl is no longer recorded, and the promotion of the vazir to the first place indicates the tendency of the kings to eliminate any reference to the excessive prerogatives of a Vice-Roy.[2]

As the power of the qizil-bash amirs had been crushed, the Grand Vazirs' authority was no longer contested, and Chardin, V, 430, who refers chiefly to the time of Shah Sulaymān, goes so far as to say: the kings of Persia are only for show ("pour la montre"), whereas the real kings are the Grand Vazirs.[3]

Our source *grosso modo* describes the situation after ʿAbbās I. According to it, the duties of the Grand Vazir may be summarised as follows: he confirmed all the official appointments, from the highest ranks to the lowest; he administered the state finance and controlled all the operations with the revenue; he checked the legality of procedure of all the officials of the state. Kaempfer, 61, recalls another important prerogative of the Grand Vazir, that of foreign policy, including negotiations with ambassadors, the signing of treaties, etc. (but *v.i.*, §17).

However, in practice even the Grand Vazir's authority was checked and balanced by the clever devices of the bureaucratic system. We shall examine here his relations to the Nāẓir-i daftar-i humāyūn, the Mustaufī al-mamālik and the Nāẓir-i buyūtāt.

With regard to the first, Chardin, V, 341, writes: "Le grand-visir a un contrôleur qui porte le titre de nazir, ou surveillant, lequel est mis par le roi et qui sert à ce ministre de premier secrétaire. Les autres grandes charges en ont aussi un de même."[4] Nothing suggesting "surveillance" appears from our §56, except in the sense of business routine. The Royal Supreme Secretariat (*daftar-khāna-yi humāyūn-aʿlā*), of which this Nāẓir was the head, was the Grand Vazir's secretariat; but the fact remains that the acts had to be checked and endorsed by the Secretary General, Chardin V, 446.

Among his other duties the Grand Vazir acted as the Minister of Finance; but *Mustaufī al-mamālik*, §18). The *T.M.*, f. 28a, suggests that without the latter's ap-

1 Shah Tahmāsp called him *ʿamū oghlī* "cousin."

2 In later times we hear of a *vakīl al-daula* (*sic*) under the weak Tahmāsp II in 1135/1722, *Z.T.*, ff. 210b, 211b. After Nādir Shah's death the "Protector" ʿAlī Mardān khan Bakhtiyārī (A.D. 1750–2) and the "Regent" Karīm khan Zand (A.D. 1752–79) were called *vakīl*, see R. Stuart Poole, *The Coins of the Shahs of Persia*, 1887, pp. LIII–LV.

3 Cf. also V, 339: "nul acte du roi, à quelque sceau qu'il soit passé, n'est valide qu'avec le contre scel du visir"; V, 440: "le premier ministre a inspection sur toutes les deux (chambres des comptes)," i.e. dīvān-i mamālik and dīvān-i khāṣṣa.

4 This latter circumstance makes it sometimes difficult to distinguish between various nāẓirs, e.g. the Nāẓir referred to on f. 28a seems to be the special nāẓir to the Mustaufī al mamālik (?).

proval (*taṣdīq*) the Grand Vazir did not take any action with the Divan revenue.[1]

Somewhat more complicated were the relations of the Grand Vazir with the Nāẓir-i buyūtāt (§11). By virtue of the dual system of Safavid administration, the Grand Vazir was properly the head of the Divan (*mamālik*) branch of the administration, while the Nāẓir-i buyūtāt administered the Khāṣṣa branch ("Private Dt.," Demesnes).

According to the *T.M.*, f. 9a, the Grand Vazir controlled all the Divan revenue as well as "the sums sent to the Treasury and other Buyūtāt from the whole of the mamālik and from the capital of Isfahan." This statement, if accurate, leaves out of his control the revenue from the Khāṣṣa. On the other hand the Mustaufī al-mamālik, who belonged to the Grand Vazir's administration, seems to have held a paramount position with regard to the Departments of Khāṣṣa and Taḥāvīl. Chardin says that, as the King had interests in the affairs of the "State" Dt., the Nāẓir looked into them, while the Grand Vazir for his part went through the accounts of the khāṣṣa administration. In this case, the Grand Vazir's presence was considered as a guarantee to the population against the proceedings of the khāṣṣa agents who might have cloaked their own high-handedness with the King's name. Chardin[2] only hints at these contacts, which probably were never couched in too rigid formulas, much being left to the personal tact and respective importance of the two Ministers.

The Grand Vazir had no fixed salary (§86), but he had an assignment in the guise of *rasm al-vizāra*, f. 85b, as well as some "annual grants." The amount of fixed pay both of the Ṣadr and Qurchi-bashi was higher than his, but this disadvantage seems to have been largely made up for by the important "fees" attributed to him.

From §85 we learn of the existence of a Vakīl of the Supreme Divan whose office was temporarily in abeyance, although the fees belonging to it continued to be collected by a Ḍābiṭ (§69) appointed ad hoc. It is possible that this Vakīl of the Supreme Divan (not *Vakīl-i nafs-i nafīs*, or even *Vakīl al-daula*!) was a Vice-Prime Minister, acting in the interim or during the absence of the Grand Vazir.[3]

A considerable reshuffling of the highest offices of State took place under the Qājārs. The title of I'timād al-daula had fallen into disuse and the dignitary in charge of his duties received the title of Ṣadr-i a'ẓam, now disconnected from the religious functions described under our §2. Meanwhile, the office of the Vakīl-i Vazīr-i A'ẓam, which, as just stated, was in abeyance under the Safavis (§85), was resuscitated under the appellation of Qā'im-maqām "Locum tenens," and its holder was attached to the heir apparent whose residence became Tabrīz. In case of

1 Less clear is the functioning of the office of the Mustaufī-yi khāṣṣa, on which the *T.M.* gives little information (§109, cf. p. 100).

2 Chardin V, 346: "Comme (le Nazir) entre avec le grand-visir dans les affaires de l'état, à cause de l'intérêt du roi, qui y est toujours mêlé, le grand-visir entre aussi avec lui dans les comptes que lui rendent les intendants des provinces, les administrateurs du domaine, les commis du roi, et tous ceux généralement qui manient les biens du prince dans tout le royaume."

3 Somewhat puzzling is his place in the enumeration (§85) before the Grand Vazir (§86).

illness of the Ṣadr-i aʿẓam the Qā'im-maqām was summoned to Tehran to act in his stead. The immediate assistants of the Ṣadr-i aʿẓam and of the Qā'im-maqām were now styled Nāẓir, while the governors who accompanied other Princes Royal appointed rulers of provinces, were surnamed Vazīrs.[1]

§7. The QŪRCHĪ-BĀSHĪ, "Chief of the qurchis," was next in dignity to the Grand Vazir.[2] Our source calls him "the most important of the *amīrs* who are Rukns," but the Grand Vazir was the most important of all the Rukns.[3] In earlier times, when Persia possessed no regular troops, the Qurchi-bashi was practically the Minister of War of Persia, and his usual title seems to have been *amir al-umarā*. Ḥusayn-beg Lala (v.s.) evidently combined the offices of vakīl and amīr al-umarā, for he lost the former in 914/1508 and the latter in the following year. Under ʿAbbās I the prerogatives of the amīr al-umarā were curtailed by the creation of the new troops and the *T.M.* calls him the senior officer ("white beard") of all the tribes of Iran, but not of the other armed forces. The *Carmelite Chronicle*, p. 468, also points to the eclipse of the Qurchi-bashi by calling him (A.D. 1694) "general of the old militia." None the less the Qurchi-bashi carried great weight in public affairs and Sanson, 30, applied to him the French title of "Connétable."[4] Very interesting is the prerogative of the Qurchi-bashi to submit the candidatures even of such high officials as vālīs, but, in view of the similar passage in §8, it must have had a restricted application, viz. only in those cases where the candidates belonged to the corps of qurchis. The rights of the Qurchi-bashi with regard to the appointment and salaries, and the "muster" of the subordinates, apply *mutatis mutandis*, to the other heads of military and civil departments.

On the Qurchi-bashi's emoluments see §88 and on his staff see §54, §55, §111 and §112.

A general characteristic of the qurchis as a military force has been given above, p. 32. Under this heading it remains for us to mention some special classes of qurchis who, as it appears, were lent by the Qurchi-bashi to various departments.

Our text refers to the King's arm-bearers (*qūrchiyān-i yarāq*) (ff. 43a, 43b, 59b), including the *qūrchī-yi sadaq* (f. 43b), who stood around in Royal assemblies. A very full list of this group is given by P. Bedik, 245, who indicates the objects in the charge of single qurchis:

mandīl qorchisi ..... turban	giyim (spelt *gheim*)-q.coat of mail
qilich-q. ..... sword	pahla-q. ..... gloves

1 On these and other similar changes of titulature, under the Qājārs, see G. Drouville, *Voyage en Perse*, Paris, 1825, II, pp. 5–16.

2 Kaempfer, 70, agrees with the *T.M.*; if Chardin, V, 341, says that the Divan-begi ranks second, he refers only to the civil administration.

3 [I.e. under ʿAbbās I.]

4 A trace of the old conception is found in the history of Shah Ṣafī, *Khuld-i barīn*, p. 257, in which the Q.-b. still opens the list of dignitaries, the Vazīr-i Aʿẓam coming at the second place. It is curious too that when, after the execution of Fatḥ ʿAli Qājār, Nādir formed a government, the functions of Vazīr-i Aʿẓam were conferred on Mirza Aqvām, while Nadir himself assumed the rank of Qurchi-bashi; after the deposition of Tahmasp II, this title was replaced by that of Navvāb-i Iskandar shān, *Z.T.*, ff. 212b, 215.

khanjar-q.	dagger	chakma-q.	top boots
kamān-q.	bow[1]	bashmaq-q.	shoes
sadaq-q.	quiver (cf. f. 43b)	jām-q.	cup
nayza-q.	spear	hazier (?)-q.	trappings[2]
qaiqan-q.	shield	jilau-q.	reins

The *qūrchī-yi ajrlū* (f. 21b) formed a small corps of 100 men with functions similar to those of a Gendarmerie, cf. Chardin, VII, 421.

Less clear is the position of the *yasāvulān-i qūr*, whom our source (ff. 59b, 61a) mentions both in the corps of qurchis and in that of qullar. One of the meanings of *qūr* is "munitions," and one might imagine that these officers served as a connecting link with the Jabbā-khāna (§33). On the other hand, Sanson, 193, affirms that "Kaur Ysaouls," numbering 2,000, who were subordinated to the Qurchi-bashi, were agents of the executive power and served on horse-back ("huissiers a cheval"). They guarded the environs of the palace at night; they kept the crowds at a distance when the Shah went out for a ride; they secured "silence" at the Divan-begi's tribunal; they carried out executions, confiscations of property, personal arrests of Khans, etc. It is curious that Sanson seems to overlook the existence of ordinary qurchis. According to Olearius, ed. 1656, p. 672, *Jasaul Kor* "Reise-Marschall" rode before the king and cleared the way through the crowd. He belonged to the Eshik-aqasi-bashi's Dt. and had under his orders another yasavul. The latter was employed for various commissions, such as the binding of captives, etc.

§8. On the corps of Qullar and Jazā'irī, v.s., p. 36–p. 38. It is interesting that the Turkish term *qul-lar* is used indiscriminately with the Arabic *ghulām*, and that the ghulāms are specially associated with the Khāṣṣa.

§9. For Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī, literally "Head of the masters of the threshold," Chardin, V, 357, suggests the French equivalent of "chef des maîtres de la cour" or in mediaeval Latin, "caput ostiariorum." Kaempfer's translation, 207, seems more appropriate materially: Magnus Aulae Mareschallus. The functions of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī were twofold; at the council meetings and public functions he acted as the great master of ceremonies; on the other hand, he was in charge of the doorkeepers, guards and *āqāyān* (cf. §29–§31).[3] His headquarters were in a hall of the principal entrance to the Palace, the Alā-qāpī, Chardin, VII, 369. One of his duties was to sleep at the gate, but in fact he only came there to place sentries, *ibid.*, V,

1 Du Mans, 24, uses a parallel Turkish expression *oq yay qurchisi*, "qui garde l'arc et la flèche du Roy."

2 I strongly suspect this strange word of being a mis-spelling of *özängü*, "stirrup"; cf. du Mans *zengou-qurchi-si*, "qui tient l'estrié pour monter." Chardin, v, 366, places the *özängü-qurchisi-bāshī* under the Amīrākhor, adding that he always rides ("marche"?) close behind the King and has a staff of ten stirrup-holders, v.i., p. 170.

3 As suggested above, p. 51, the latter term would normally refer to eunuchs; but a broader use of it is suggested by f. 44b where the ushers are said to be sons (!) of *aqāyān*, etc. On f. 79a the *aqāyān* figure along with the military. Apparently the *aqāyān* formed a special class of "gentlemen" having a rank inferior to the amirs, muqarrabs (f. 90b), yasāvuls and eshik-aqāsīs (ff. 69b, 128a. but see 96b!).

358. His jurisdiction extended only over the outer part of the palace down to the Harem gate. The command near the latter belonged to an amir of lesser rank called Eshīk-āqāsī-yi Ḥaram (§28), whose activity must have been co-ordinated with, if not subordinated to that of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī.[1] On the Lashkar-nivīs and Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs acting as the Vazir and the Mustaufī in his department, v.i., §63 and §64. On the prerogative of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī to collect an additional 10 per cent, on the value of presents offered to the king, v.s., f. 87a.

§10. On the tufangchīs, v.s., p. 36. On the staff of the Tufangchi-aqasi, v.i., §111–§112.

Twice in our text (ff. 15a and 129a) subalterns called *rikā* are associated with the Tufangchi Dt. The dictionaries explain *rikā* only as "a staff-bearer (*chūbdār*) from whose bonnet wool is hanging down" (Vullers, II, 98). European travellers do not agree as to their duties. According to Olearius they were armed with "pole-axes," were always on guard about the king's person and sometimes acted as common executioners. Kaempfer, 209, calls them runners (cursores), adding that they marched ahead of the royal cortege and with their axes reduced walls and enclosures which might have hampered the progress. According to Du Mans, 32, *rikās* were the footmen (valets de pied), whom the dignitaries kept at the palace gate to inform them of the King's outings, which is definitely not the case of §11. In view of the fact that the *rikās* were halberdiers one might suppose that they were identical with the sūfī guards described above, p. 37, but Kaempfer speaks of them separately.

§11. The Nāẓir-i buyūtāt, "Superintendent of the Royal Workshops,"[2] was the Superintendent General of the whole of the King's Household. Chardin, V, 345, calls him "le premier ministre du souverain, le surintendant de ses finances, le grand économe de son domaine, de ses revenus, de ses biens meubles et immeubles, de tout ce qui entre dans son trésor, et de tout ce qui en sort." In fact the Nāẓir was the head of the *khāṣṣa*, *ibid.*, 344, and even looked into some affairs of the *dīvān* administration, jointly with the Grand Vazir, v.s., p. 128. In view of his association with the affairs most directly interesting the King, the Nāẓir was a powerful minister. Under ʿAbbās II the holder of this office, who was the King's favourite, had encroached so much on the prerogatives of the Grand Vazir that the latter ignored many of the affairs which officially came under his purview.

The Nāẓir had under him 33 different *buyūtāt*; alongside such purely domestic departments as the King's kitchen, scullery, various stores, etc., there were also departments which represented small factories, see §34, §35 (tailoring departments), §136 (weaving mill), §155 (jewellery), etc. The Buyūtāt are only partially enumerated in Chapter III, Category (*b*), with some additions in the list of salaries (Conclusion, Part I). Du Mans, 21–4, Chardin, V, 349–56, and Kaempfer, 120–31, mention a number of additional departments.

1 On the channels through which communications with the Harem took place see f. 30b. If indeed the eunuchs were controlled by §9, the subordination to him of §28 was inevitable.

2 On them, v.i., p. 132, p. 149.

In earlier times it happened that only a part of the Buyūtāt (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, 120$_6$: *akthar-i buyūtāt*, 120$_{14}$: *baʿḍī az buyūtāt*) was placed under the Nāẓir's orders, but, with the growth of the importance of the Khāṣṣa, his competence extended beyond his immediate subordinates. Our source (f. 20b) records, for instance, the dependence on him of the Royal Stables (§15), ammunition dumps, etc. It is to be assumed that at least the corps of musketeers, qullar and jazā'irī (v.s., p. 36) maintained by the Khāṣṣa, were very closely controlled by the Nāẓir. In conformity with the general policy of the later Safavis, the office of Nāẓir was withdrawn from the qizil-bash amirs and entrusted to the more subservient eunuchs (f. 32a). The famous Sārū-Taqī, castrated by ʿAbbās I's order, became, under Shah Ṣafī, Nāẓir, and finally Grand Vazir. To his suggestion Chardin ascribes the decisive encroachments of the Khāṣṣa on the Divan.[1]

Very interesting is the information given by the *T.M.* on the system of control over the expenses of the King's Household. Chardin confirms that on the whole it worked satisfactorily.[2]

As was the case in other branches of administration, the Nāẓir's nearest assistants were his vazir, his mustaufī and his mushrif (§50–§52). All the heads of the departments in the Workshops (*ṣāḥib-jamʿ*, §31) were under his orders, and through them he controlled the numerous staff of workmen, cooks, attendants, etc.

§12. The Divan-begi was the Lord High Justice. His duties as described in the *T.M.* were fourfold:

(a) Sitting jointly with the Ṣadr at the Keshīk-khāna he tried the major crimes, committed in any part of the Kingdom.[3] The Ṣadr was supposed to give orders for the application of the Qor'ānic law, but the fact that he did so in the Dīvān-begi's tribunal shows whose influence was uppermost. The Keshīk-khāna in question, according to Chardin, VII, 369, was an entrance hall at the principal gate (*Ālā-qāpī*) of the Palace, opposite another hall, occupied by the Eshīk-āqā-si-bāshī (§9)[4]

(b) The Divan-begi[5] controlled all the Sharīʿat courts, and quite especially acted as the executive power for the decisions of the Sharīʿat courts. This latter prerogative was another powerful means for the civil administration to keep the divines well in hand.

(c) On two days of the week he himself in his house[6] tried civil cases, with the exception of those in which administrative authorities were involved. In this tribunal customary law (*ʿurf*) was applied, and Chardin speaks in great detail of

1 Chardin, v, 250, vii, 304, *ʿĀlam-ārā, 766 in fine*, *Khuld-i barīn*, f. 137b.

2 v, 348; "la concussion, la malversation et les autres fraudes ne sont pas faciles à faire, dans le royaume de Perse, à ceux qui ont la surintendance des biens du souverain."

3 *Aḥdāth-i arbaʿa*. Kaempfer, 80: in foro ejus quattuor crimina.

4 At another place, v, 342, Chardin says that the Grand Vazir performed some duties in this second hall (?), see f. 10b.

5 Perhaps jointly with the Ṣadr.

6 Chardin, vii, 465, near the Gate of Lombān.

the importance of this branch of judicature for the non-Muslim part of the population, VI, 75, insisting on the fact that between the written (i.e. Qor'ānic) law and the supreme civil power "il n'y a jamais de conflit de juridiction … le droit ourph comme le plus fort, l'emportant sur l'autre sans la moindre résistance." Our f. 9a clearly distinguishes between the Sharī'at and "the habits, usages and rules of rightfulness." In the provinces the representatives of the *'urf* were the governors.

(d) The Divan-begi was a court of appeal for the whole kingdom and received complaints against the highest authorities. "On appelle à lui de toutes parts du royaume," *ibid*., V, 342.

All this shows the importance of the duties of the Divan-begi. Amid the conflicts and rivalries of various religious courts he, having the support of the King, easily asserted his paramount rights.

§13. The importance of the office of Amīr-shikār-bāshī ("Grosvenor") may have been a survival of Turkish and Mongol times, when hunting was not only a distraction but an important part of the commissariat. The participation of this amir in the *jānqī* council (f. 8b) was probably due to some personal reasons. The importance of the office is illustrated by the fact that under Shah Sulṭān-Ḥusayn the Shikār-bāshī, Fatḥ 'Alī khan Turkmān was promoted sardār of Khorasan, *Z.T.*, 204a. The powerful chief of the Shah's pages (*yūz-bāshī-yi ghulāmān-i khāṣṣa*),[1] on being reinstated after a disgrace, was appointed Amīr Shikār-bāshī, *ibid.,* 206a. On the Amīr shikār-bāshī's salary see §94. Under his orders were the Qūsh-khāna-āqāsi ("Head Falconer"), the Sagbān-bāshī ("Master of the Kennels") and some 1000 hunters throughout the kingdom, Chardin, V, 366, cf. our §137.

§14. This paragraph seems to contradict Chardin's statement that the whole of the Artillery Dt. was abolished towards a.d. 1655. In fact, we know that it was active in Shah Sulṭan-Ḥusayn's expeditions to Khorasan, v.s., p. 37. However, even the amount of the Tupchi-bashi's salary (§88) points to his reduced importance in comparison with his colleagues.

§15. 16. There were two Amīrākhor-bāshīs,[2] "Masters of the King's Stables" the one of *jilau* and the other of *ṣaḥrā*. The word *jilau* is of Mongolian origin,[3] and means "a halter, a rein by which a horse is led"; in Modem Persian *jilau* (>*jolou*) is used as a preposition "before." *Jilaudār*, "Holder of the Rein," is the groom riding before his master, as if leading his horse. In the present case, Amīrākhor-bāshī-yi jilau is the official responsible for the King's mounts. On his salary see §91; according to Chardin, his emoluments were 50,000 écus (= 3.333 tomans?), a considerable part of which consisted of his levies on the horses presented to the King, or given by him. The Amīrākhor-bāshī had a very numerous staff ("un nombre presque infini de gens"). As his department was very closely associated with the court, the appointments in it were controlled by the Nāẓir-i buyūtāt (§11). Under

1 V.s., f. 32a.

2 Chardin, V, 363: "le grand-écuyer."

3 Poppe, *Muqadditnat al-adab*, 439: *jolā* (after Ibn-Muhannā, ed. Istanbul, 1338, p. 225), "a halter."

the Amīrākhor-bāshī's orders were (Chardin, V, 366): the *jilaudār-bāshī*, "First Equerry in permanent attendance on the King," the *zīndār-bāshī*, "Keeper of saddlery," the *özängi-dār-bāshī*, "Head of the stirrup-holders," riding immediately behind the King's horse, and finally 30 footmen ("valets de pied du Roi").

The Amīrākhor-bashī-yi ṣaḥrā was the superintendent of the "outdoor (*ṣaḥrā*) stables," i.e. of the Royal Studs. On his inspection tours he was closely associated with the Nāẓir-i davābb (§96) who, according to Kaempfer, was the inspector of the King's pack-animals (jumentorum Regiorum). This official belonged to the Khāṣṣa branch of administration for the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 76, calls him *Nāẓir-i davābb-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*. His salary was even higher than that of the Amīrākhor-bashi-yi ṣaḥrā. Chardin, VII, 302, refers to a Nāẓir-i chārpā, "intendant du pied fourché qui reçoit le droit de toutes les bêtes à cornes qui se consument dans les villes du royaume," which is a different matter. At another place Chardin, V, 364, who knows only one Amīrākhor-bashi (cf. under §92) says that there was a special "Nazir of the stables" who countersigned all the orders of the Amirakhor-bashi, and had an office in which all the expense of the stables was controlled. Chardin's data are somewhat confused, and apparently neither of the two quotations refers to the Naẓir-i davābb. On a Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the stables see §160.

§17. The Majlis-nivīs was also called Vāqiʿ-nivīs.[1] He was a very important officer and according to Chardin, V, 343, acted for the Grand Vazir during the latter's absences. As in the assemblies he sat on the King's left, he was often styled *vazīr-i chap*, while the Grand-Vazir was called *vazīr-i rāst*, "Minister of the Right."

It is possible that his various titles pointed to a combination of several offices originally distinct. The functions of this officer were threefold.

To judge by the title of Majlis-nivīs, "Recorder of the King's assemblies," he had to record the proceedings of the audiences. If so, his functions were akin to those of an official historiographer. The latter is not otherwise mentioned in our source. Rieu, P. C., 189b, speaking of the career of the historian Muḥammad Ṭāhir Vaḥīd, says that in 1055/1645 ʿAbbās II appointed him "Majlis-navīs, or court-historiographer,"[2] but this interpretation maybe based on mere etymology. From Catholicos Abraham, tr. Brosset, 312, we know that A.D. 1736, Nādir-shāh commissioned Mirzā Mahdī to be his "historiographer." We do not know what Persian title is meant in this case; in the Preface of his work (completed after Nādir's death) M. Mahdī vaguely speaks of himself as being *az chākarān-i ḥuḍūr va ba-ḍabṭ-i viqāyiʿ maʿmūr*.

On the other hand, the Majlis-nivīs was the King's private secretary. Sanson, 35, calls him "le seul secrétaire d'état," and Kaempfer, 79, "magnus secretarius status."[3] The Majlis-nivīs had to put into due form the orders issued by the King. As

1 Chardin translates this latter title as "écrivain des choses qui surviennent."

2 From which he later rose to be Grand Vazir, Rieu, *Supplement*, 40b.

3 As such he must be distinguished from the Nāẓir-i daftar-i humāyūn (§53). who was the

the latter usually gave them by word of mouth (*bil-mushāfaha*), they were to be confirmed either by means of a taʿlīqa of the Grand Vazir or by means of a risāla ("epistle") of one of the amirs, using the formula *ḥasab al-amr al-aʿlā*. In each case the order was handed to the Vāqiʿa-nivīs in whose Dt. it was transformed into a regular raqam. On f. 42b the raqams submitted to the Vāqiʿa-nivīs are called *bayāḍī* and *daftarī*.[1] On them he traced a tughrā in black ink.[2]

The well-known Turkish term *ṭughrā* was applied in Turkey to the pieces of elaborate calligraphy containing the Sulṭan's name and forming his emblem, see Deny in *E.I.* This use was unknown in Persia. It is true that in a document of early Safavid times,[3] *tughrā* means an autograph signature (or letter?), and autograph endorsements are also found on later documents, see Or. 4935, No. VII (ʿAbbās II), but judging by the hints found in the *T.M.* (§42 and f. 40a), the tughras were formulas certifying the Shah's will and inscribed by the dignitaries specially apointed (namely, §17 and §23). Our source contains no indications as to the place of the Vāqiʿa-nivīs's tughrā, but Or, 4935, No. XII, has an endorsement on the verso (in black ink) running as follows: (a) *ḥasab al-amr al-aʿlā*, (b) *az qarār-i nivishta-yi … Iʿtimād al-daula*, (c) *bar ṭibq-i nivishta-yi ʿālī-jāh-i muqarrab al-khāqān-i Majlis-nivīs-i majlis-i bihisht-āyīn*. This formula may be the tughra in question. On the tughras "in gold and red" traced by the Munshī al-mamālik see §23.[4] The third important prerogative of the Vāqiʿa-nivīs was to be a rapporteur to the King. He read to His Majesty the reports of the Governors and all kinds of petitions and communications, and drew up the King's replies to them. Chardin, V, 258, 343, reveals the important fact that there were Vāqiʿa-nivīses in all the provinces, and that the Vazīr-i chap was their head and consequently played the rôle of the Ṣāḥib al-barīd ("Master of the Post") of the days of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. He went to see the King whenever he wanted. As he answered the letters of other kings to the Shah, kept the treaties and knew the precedents of diplomatic relations, he was an important link in the negotiations with foreign ambassadors. He registered their comings and goings, the object of their missions, etc. He must have had considerable archives, but it is not clear which were the quarters occupied by him and his numerous staff.

In §108 his fixed emoluments are put at 330 tomans, but Du Mans, 18, thinks they might have run into a thousand.

§18. It is difficult to find a European equivalent for the title of MUSTAUFĪ AL-MAMĀLIK. The Grand Vazir, under whose orders he was acting, was the real

Grand Vazir's coadjutor, and from the Munshī al-mamālik (§23), who was principally the State Calligrapher, v,i,, p. 132

1 *Bayāḍī*, "fair copies," may refer to standardised documents written in ready forms, and *daftarī* to the documents the drafts of which had to be prepared in the office (?). See Annex v.

2 The terms *qalam-i midād* and *qalam-i siyāhī* seem to be identical.

3 *Silsilat*, p. 104: issued by Shaykh Haydar in 888/1483.

4 ʿAbbas Eghbāl in *Irān-i imrūz*, 1319, No. 10, p. 25, quotes some dictionaries deriving *tughrā* from Turkish **Turqa* or *Turghay*, "bow" (doubtful!). *Tughrā* is explained as "a bow-shaped script" (*bar shikl-i kamān*) used in the top of farmans before the basmala. The script was shaped like "a bow with an arrow."

Minister of Finance, but in fact most of the technical financial activity, such as accountancy, audit and preparation of the budget,[1] lay on the shoulders of the M.-m. French travellers usually call the offices of the Mustaufī al-mamālik and of the Mustaufī-yi khāṣṣa, "chambres des comptes." Chardin, V, 439, in a rather vague passage, calls the M.-m. "président au premier chef de toute la chambre[2] et, pour ainsi dire, le premier mobile de cette grande machine," while Kaempfer, 83 and 88, refers to the two Mustaufis respectively as "Questor Regni et (Questor) Regis."

In the first instance the M,-m. controlled the activities of the mamālik branch of administration; but our source indicates that the Mustaufī-yi khāṣṣa (§109) and the (Mustaufī-yi) arbāb-i taḥāvīl (§59 and f. 46a), at least in dealing with certain sums allotted (*rasad*) to them, depended on the Mustaufī al-mamālik, and that in general the majority of operations with the revenue, irrespective of the branches of administrations, needed the seal of the Mustaufī al-mamālik.

The principal officials under the Mustaufī al-mamālik were: Nāẓir (§56?), Dārūgha-yi daftar-khāna (§54), Ṣāḥib-taujīh (§66), Ḍābiṭa-nivīs (§65), and the Keepers of the avāraja books (§70). Among the scribes are specially mentioned the scribe of the *khāliṣ* department and the *Nivīsanda-yi baqāyā*, "Scribe of the arrears" (§123).[3] Both Chardin, V, 439, and Kaempfer, 89, agree as to the principal divisions of the Mustaufi's office. Chardin enumerates three of them: that of *khulāṣa*, that of *taujīh* (§66) and that of the *Lashkar-nivīs* (§63), plus two controlling officials: Nāẓir (f. 28a) and Dārūgha (§54). We shall mention each division at its place, but the first of them which has no special paragraph in the *T.M.* must be discussed here.

Our source (f. 29a) refers to a special *sarkār-i khāliṣ*, the object of which, according to the description, was to prepare short notices on appointments and payments for the benefit of the other offices dealing with Expenditure. The division may have had the functions of an Official Gazette. Both Chardin (*defter cané colaseh*) and Kaempfer (*cholaseh*)[4] clearly refer to Persian *khulāṣa*, "essence, excerpt," and Chardin's definition of the functions of this office does not contradict the destination of *sarkār-i khāliṣ* as explained in the *T.M.* More probably, however, the European observers were let into error by the similarity of the terms *khāliṣ* and *khulāṣa*, for document IXb of Or. 4935 bears on the verso the registration

1 According to the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 766, a scheme of budget of the "state" administration (*nuskha-yi tashkhīṣ-i jamʿ-va-kharj mamālik-i maḥrūsa*) which was adopted "as instruction and law by the Royal Secretariat" (*qudva-va-qānūn-i daftar-khāna-yi humāyūn*) in ʿAbbās I's time was elaborated by the Mustaufī al-mamālik Ḥātim beg Ordūbādī and his successor Āqā Mīrzā ʿAlī.

2 V, 447: "chef de la chambre" (but VII, 471, wrongly "le secrétaire de l'empire"). This refers only to the Daftar-khāna-yi mamālik as the Mustaufī-yi khāṣṣa was the head of a parallel chamber.

3 According to the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 119, under Tahmāsp I there were two separate officers, *Mustaufī al-mamālik* and *Mustaufī al-baqāyā* ("M. of the arrears"). One of the holders of the latter post was promoted to the dignity of M. al-mamālik.

4 Chardin, V, 436: "ce bureau est comme le journal du domaine: c'est le lieu des registres de la recette et de la mise journalière, et c'est où les billets d'assignation se gardent." Kaempfer, 89: "camera Cholaseh generales ducit rationes acceptorum et expensorum in Dominiis."

both of a *daftar-i khālis* (No. 1) and of a *daftar-i khulāṣa* (No. 4). Consequently the two offices were distinct, though we cannot yet discriminate between their functions.[1]

The Mustaufī al-mamālik controlled the appointments of all the mustaufis (f. 28b), and wrote instructions to the financial agents (*ʿummāl*) in the provinces (f. 27b), but there are no indications in our text concerning the mustaufis of the military departments, etc. (§56, §58, §60, §62, §72) being under his orders.

Our source does not describe the activities of the Mustaufī-yi khāṣṣa (§109), but through Chardin and Kaempfer we know that his department was organised exactly on the same lines and with the same divisions as that of the Mustaufī al-mamālik. According to Chardin, the two administrations, though equally controlled by the Grand Vazir,[2] were entirely distinct, but we must remember what Chardin adds on the overlapping of the competences of the Dīvān and Khāṣṣa in general, v.s., p. 128, and particularly with regard to the activities of the mustaufis, V, 440. Kaempfer, 88, agrees with our source in admitting some subordination of the Mustaufī-yi khāṣṣa to his colleague (quodammodo subordinatus). Chardin, V, 435 says more cautiously: "le bureau des registres du royaume [mamālik] est le premier en rang; mais l'autre [khāṣṣa] a plus d'autorité, à cause de l'étendue de son ressort." These remarks confirm the general evolution of Persian institutions in the later Safavid period when the Khāṣṣa was working havoc in the mamālik administration. The office of M.-khāṣṣa may have been a comparatively recent foundation for neither under Tahmāsp, nor under ʿAbbās I does it figure in the detailed lists of officials, see *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 119, 766. It is very probable that the M.-khāṣṣa controlled the expenditure of the army, or at least of the new corps created by Shah ʿAbbās.[3] The mustaufīs mentioned in §75, §82 and probably §81, belonged also to the purview of the Mustaufī-yi khāṣṣa.

> The *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 664, and 671, contains two curious passages which throw much light on the position held by the Mustaufī al-mamālik and on the official procedure in more exceptional matters requiring audit. The first passage records the accusations of misuse of public funds (*taḍyīʿ-i māl-i dīvānī*) which the Grand Vazir Mīrzā Abū-Ṭālib and the Mustaufī al-mamālik Qivāmā Muḥammadā[4] Isfahānī levelled against each other in 1029/1619. The case having been brought up before Shah ʿAbbās the latter ordered the Ṣadrs (*ṣudūr-i ʿiẓām*) to conduct an enquiry with the Yasāvul-i ṣuḥbat (cf.

1 Chardin, v, 441 : "c'est un labyrinte dont on ne saurait sortir que ces chambres des comptes," etc.

2 Chardin, v, 440: "le premier ministre a inspection sur toutes les deux."

3 Chardin, v, 440–1, rather vaguely says: "Dans la chambre des comptes de l'état on tient registre des officiers et des troupes de chaque province (sic). … Dans le bureau du domaine on tient les mêmes comptes: ainsi la chambre du domaine sait tout ce qu'il faut paver à chacun et combien chaque corps [sic] d'officiers, de soldats, de domestiques et d'artisans doit recevoir par an."

4 The forms in *-ā* are common in the names of learned men, divines, etc. It is likely that this *-ā* is a contraction of the title *āqā*. Nowadays *ā* (<*āqā*) is used in addresses before the names of divines, etc.

§29) Kalb-ʿAli-beg Shāmlū as the secretary (*ba-sarkārī*?)[1] The commission (*dīvānī*) met at Faraḥābād (of Mazandaran). Qivāmā submitted in detail what he had to say and the Grand Vazir wrote an answer to each point. The Shah understood that the matter was nothing but a case of personal enmity and caused the procedure to be closed.

Two years later fresh recriminations broke out between the same Qivāmā and Khwāja Muḥammad Riḍā Fidavī, who for ten years had held the office of Financial Agent (*vazīr-va-ʿāmil-i umūr-i dīvānī*) in Āzarbayjān and Shīrvān. The Mustaufī al-mamālik made difficulties in passing the accounts (*tanqīh-i muḥāsabāt*) of his subordinate and put large sums to his debit (*bāqī*). The Divan examined the controversy, and the matter was reported to the Shah, who convinced himself that there was a large debit. On his part Fidavī retorted that what appeared as debit was in fact available on the spot (*dar maḥall*), as attested by the detail of the accounts (*muḥāsaba-yi juzʾ*) and the confirmation (*taṣdīq*) of the scribes. The Shah, while showing a perfect knowledge of accountancy, ordered the Divan to put (*ʿamal karda*) the said items of taxes (*vujūh*) to Fidavī's debit (*tankhwāh-i bāqī*), and to draw them (*ḥavāla*) on the payers (*muʿaddiyān*),[2] If anyone had an objection, or if Fidavī's deputies (*vakīl*) had collected (*girifta*) the sum, the matter was to be cleared (*tashkhīṣ*) between them, while in the case of there being no objections, the sums were to be paid. Thus the matter was closed, but in the course of the discussion in the Shah's presence, Qivāmā and Fidavī accused each other of various malversations, and the Shah became somewhat suspicious of the scribes of the Daftar-khāna. Several of them were arrested, and among others Āqā-ʿAzīz Isfahānī, avāraja-nivīs (§70) of Khorasan. As he was an opium addict, the Shah ordered Timur-beg Yasāvul-i ṣuḥbat Ev-oghlī, who carried out the arrest, not to give him any opium. Timur-beg took pity on Āqā-ʿAzīz, but the latter refused to infringe the Shah's order, as coming from "our Murshid (*sic*) and Valī-niʾmat." The Shah, pleased with such loyalty, abrogated his order, but decided that each one of the guilty parties should remit an appropriate fine to the special collectors (*farākhur-i ḥāl chīzī ba-rasm-i tarjumān ba muhaṣṣilān dihand*), and that Fidavī's deputies should proceed to the Secretariat, ascertain there all the cases of malversation or negligence and finally present a report thereon. Khwāja Muḥammad Maʿsūm, who was mustaufi of Āzarbayjān on behalf of Fidavī, and was a specialist in accountancy (*rātiq-i fātiq-i ḥisāb*), together with Khwāja Malik Aḥmad Isfahānī, who was Qivāmā's objector (*muqarrir-va-muʿānid*), went to the Daftar-khāna, and, having appointed a scribe (*nivīsanda*) to each department, began their investigation into the accountancy of the previous years and the arrears (*baqāyā*). For six months they acted with full powers (*ṣāḥib-iqtidār*); but in the meantime Qivāmā Muḥammadā died, as it was thought, of poison, and

1 Hardly "under the chairmanship" of a Yasāvul-i ṣuḥbat.

2 Here evidently "tax-payers."

the procedure came to nothing (*āṭil*). It appears, *ibid.*, 673, that while the audit was being carried on, Qivāmā still attended to his duties.[1] Iskandar-munshī humorously explains these departmental squabbles by the influence of the planets Mercury and Jupiter (*iḥtirāq-i ʿUṭārid va rujʿat-i Mushtarī*), which in Muslim opinion are concerned with clerical pursuits.

§19. The curious office of the Khalīfat al-khulafā is a survival of the basic organisation of the early Safavids, very similar to the single party of a modern totalitarian state. The religious and civil authorities carried on their activities under the all-pervading control of the adherents of the Sufi order founded by the great ancestor of the Safavid family Shaykh Ṣafī al-dīn Isḥāq (d. 735/1334). For a long time the order combined its mysticism with sunnite orthodoxy, but under Shah Ismāʿīl's grandfather Junayd extreme Shīʿa ideas had crept into the organisation,[2] and the new secret doctrine promoted the successors of Shaykh Ṣafī to the position of living embodiments of the godhead.[3] This evolution further consolidated the order and resulted in the political triumph of Ismāʿīl. Having attained the throne, the Safavids found themselves at the head of a double administration; as kings, they inherited the system of government of their predecessors (chiefly the Aq-qoyunlu); as the supreme heads of their original order, they claimed the blind obedience of their Ṣūfīs.[4] In ordinary times the common administration sufficed, but as soon as an internal crisis broke out the Safavids appealed to the feelings of "shāhī-sevanī" of their adherents,[5] and the conflicts were settled in the atmosphere of the superior discipline of the single party.

The office of the Khalifat al-khulaṣā served as a special secretariat for ṣūfī affairs. Our source confirms the interesting fact that the Khalīfat al-khulaṣā, acting on behalf of the King, appointed his representatives to the provinces.[6] As the Sufis were Qizil-bash and mostly Turks,[7] the Khalīfat al-khulaṣās were also members of

1 Qivāmā is spoken of with sympathy by Iskandar-munshī, who utilised the historical materials collected by him

2 Something similar happened to the Bektashi order, after its amalgamation with the Hurūfīs; see E. G. Browne, *L.H.P.*, III, 370, 374. J. K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order*, 1937, 61, has not shattered the idea of their association.

3 See Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān* of poems written under the takhallus of *Khatāʾī* (cf. Minorsky in *E.I.*) and the accusations levelled against Tahmāsp by the Uzbek ʿUbayd-khan, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 231. See in more detail, Minorsky, *The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl*, in *B.S.O.S.*, X, 4, 1942, 1006–53.

4 When the infant Ismāʿīl I was still in hiding, the nucleus staff of the order—a *khalīfat al-khulafā*, an *abdāl*, a *dada*, a *khādim*—were in attendance on him, besides his *lala*, "governor, tutor"; see the anonymous history of Ismāʿīl, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, pp. 20, 33.

5 See Minorsky, *Shāhī-sevān*, in *E.I.* Cf. also Bellan, *Chah Abbas*, Introduction (not entirely in focus), and Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg*, 22.

6 The *T.M.* calls these deputies *khalīṣa*, and from a story reported in the anonymous history of Ismāʿīl we learn of the existence of a second class of initiates called *pīra*, "elders." The title, which is a derivation from the usual Persian *pīr*, seems to belong to the Caspian provinces: a similarly formed term, *amīra*, is common among the Gilan rulers. The term *khulaṣā* (see once on f. 30a), very common in Safavi times, is only an abridgement of *khalīfat al-khulaṣā*, but possibly, in the polite speech, the use of it was extended to some ordinary khalīfas.

7 Chardin, VII, 370, insists on the fact that no one can enter the corps of the Ṣūfī guards

the tribal caste. Through the Khalīfat al-khulaṣā and the ṣūfīs the Shahs controlled not only the forces to which in the first place they owed their advent to power, but also the vast network of their adherents scattered throughout the dominions of the Ottoman sultans.[1] At the time of Shah Tahmāsp, the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 105, mentions Ḥusayn-quli Khulafā Rūmlū, "who held the office of Khalīfat al-khulaṣā in the capital and, though he was not 'master of a band and a banner,' he was highly respected; he gave advice and was consulted. The sufis coming from Diyarbakr and from all parts of Asia Minor to the foot of the Shah's throne were entirely obedient to him (*tābiʿ-i ū*)." Among the simple khalifas the *ʿĀlam-ārā* refers to 2 Shāmlū amirs, 1 Turkman, 2 Zulqadar and 1 Chaghatay.

In Isfahan, the sufis held their gatherings on Thursday nights in the *tauhīd-khāna* which was situated in the alley just inside the principal gate of the palace.[2] The lodgings of the sufi-guards (v.s. p. 37) were situated in the same neighbourhood. The sufis kept watch over the said gate ("la porte impériale"), as well as over the outer walls of the palace, and accompanied the Shah on his outings. The persons who sought refuge at the gate of the Palace had to persuade the sufis, and the latter derived considerable benefit therefrom.

ʿAbbās I succeeded in curbing his praetorians (*qurchi*) and, in order to counterbalance them, created a new corps similar to the Ottoman janissaries (v.s., p. 33). A corollary of this reform was the decline of the ṣūfīs, but even at the death of the king in 1629, the theory, according to which the Shah was the *murshid-i kāmil* of his adepts, was fully recognised, and the ministers invited "all the khulafā, ṣūfīs, murīds and the adepts of this holy (*vilāyat-āthār*) house" to sign a certificate (*vatkīqa*) concerning the appointment of the Shah's successor, and all acted in conformity with the principle of the "pīr and murīd." Also see above the case of Āqā-ʿAzīz, p. 137.

Later kings had no interest in encouraging the activities of the ṣūfīs closely connected with the tribal policy and now opposed to the state interest. This is fully reflected in Sanson's statement on the changed position of the ṣūfīs, v.s., p. 14. Under the last Safavid, Mīrzā M. Bāqir Majlisī, whose energy was directed towards the consolidation of the Shīʿa orthodoxy, tried to abate the mystic vagaries of the earlier period, and subjected the Sufis to persecution.[3] The anodyne character of the activities of the Khalīfat al-khulaṣā, as described in our texts, reflects the outcome of his policy.

It is noteworthy that the Khalīfat al-khulaṣā, coming at the end of the list of the higher civil officials, is treated separately from the Islamic spiritual powers. In fact

"who is not of their blood and race," hinting thereby at the connection of the Ṣūfīs with the Turcoman tribes.

1 See Danon, *Un interrogatoire d'hérétiques musulmans en 1619*, in *Journal Asiatique*, April, 1921, 281–93, on the Safavid propaganda in Asia Minor.

2 In Chardin, VII, 371, *tauḥīd-khāna* is mis-printed as *taous-cané* (!) but rightly explained as "maison de culte." The *khādim-bāshī* was apparently in charge of the attendants (*ʿamala*) of the *tauḥīd-khāna*.

3 Browne, *L.H.P.*, IV, 104. The point needs special investigation.

the principles which he represented were as distinct from orthodoxy as were those of the shamans and lamas surviving at the court of the Muslim īlkhāns of Persia.

CHAPTER III

ON THE MUQARRABS

No clear-cut distinction can be discovered between the two categories of dignitaries composing the second class, except that the muqarrab al-khāqāns were probably more intimately associated with the person of the King (cf. f. 40b, ultima). Contrary to expectation, the title of muqarrab al-khāqān accompanies the higher rank of ʿāli-jāh under §12. On the less important title *ʿālī-ḥaḍrat*, v.i., see p. 156–p. 156.

A. The muqarrab al-khaqans

Category (a): The khwāja-sarā

In this paragraph are described the eunuchs holding higher offices, as distinguished from the simple khwāja-sarā referred to occasionally, as on f. 24a. The reference to the origin of white eunuchs is very curious. Chardin, V, 378, and VIII, 133, says that white eunuchs were not admitted to the women's quarters, the service in which was reserved to their black colleagues, probably as being more repulsive in appearance. [On the *khwāja-sarā*, cf. p. 114, line 19.]

The Royal Treasury was controlled by the Nāẓir of the Workshops (§11), but even he could not enter the halls where the money and jewels were kept by the Keeper of the Treasury (§32), who in Chardin's time was the eunuch Āqā Kāfūr, "le plus brutal, le plus rude et le plus laid personnage qu'on puisse voir," V, 433.[1] The Arsenal (§33) was another field of activity for the eunuchs, who were supposed to make up in stinginess what they lacked in other passions. By Naẓārat our author means the office of Nāẓir-i buyūtāt (§11). A celebrated predecessor of Maḥmūd-āqā was Sārū-Taqī, who under Shah-Ṣafī rose even to the high post of Grand Vazir. On the Mihtar of the rikāb-khāna see commentary on §43. The Centurions of the eunuchs were men of great importance. Under the weak Sulṭan-Ḥusayn, the influential Aḥmad-āqā Yūz-bāshī-yi ghulāmān-i Khāṣṣa went to such lengths as to abuse the Grand Vazir, *Z.T.*, f. 205b, cf. p. 120.

Our source suggests that there were two categories of young ghulāms: eunuchs ("ghulams of the Private Household") and "non-eunuchs" (*sāda*). Chardin, V, 470, 479, in his description of the solemn assemblies, says of the former: "Derrière [le roi] sont rangés neuf ou dix petits eunuques de dix à quatorze ans, les plus beaux enfants qu'on puisse voir, richement vêtus, qui font un demi-cercle derrière lui, et qui semblent de vraies statues de marbre, tant ils sont immobiles, tenant les

1 On the great influence in state affairs of the eunuchs Mubārak and Kāfūr, cf. Kaempfer, 202.

mains sur l'estomac, la tête droite et les yeux arrêtés." These pages knelt down as they served meals to the King.

The "ordinary" (*sāda*) ghulāms were the young candidates, or pages specially educated for the King's service. Chardin, V, 308, says that there were 1000–1200 young men having the honorary name of *ghulām-i shāh*. These "King's own slaves or servants," according to their particular capacities, were later distributed among various administrations, and gradually rose to independent posts. The Turkish term *ev-oghlï*, "son of the house," very frequent under ʿAbbās I and his successors,[1] undoubtedly refers to this category of ghulāms brought up in the Palace.[2] The headquarters of the young ghulams were in a house with the queer name of *Khāna-yi Gāv*, Chardin, VIII, 38.[3]

The tutors (*lala*) of the two categories of young ghulāms were separate. They were officers of considerable standing, In 1029/1620 ʿAbbās I commissioned the Lala-yi ghulāmān-i sarkār-i khāṣṣa Muḥibb ʿAlī khan (a non-eunuch) to report on the possibility of turning off the head-waters of the Kārūn into the Zāyanda-rūd, *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 674. In Shah Sulaymān's time, we hear of an Āqā Laṭīf (a eunuch) who was Lala-yi ghulāmān-i sarkār-i khāṣṣa, see Or. 4935, No. 9B.

Category (b) comprises a group of trusted officials attending on the Shah.

The Head Physician of the King was in fact the superintendent of the whole profession. Chardin, V, 168, evaluates the emoluments of the doctors in the Shah's pay at 2,500,000 livres (= over 55,555 tomans), to say nothing of occasional presents, etc. This sum, twenty-five times superior to what is indicated in the *T.M.*, must be greatly exaggerated, although our source appears to leave out the expenses of the Khāṣṣa. The chief risk of the Ḥakīm-bāshī's profession was to lose his property and freedom in case of the decease of his august patient. In this connection Chardin, X, 89, and Kaempfer, 82, quote the experiences of the two principal doctors of ʿAbbās II. Yet their treatment indicates an advance on Mongol times when the King's physicians had their very lives in pledge.

In some relation to the Ḥakīm-bāshī stood the ʿAṭṭār-khāna, the "Chemists' Dt." (§163). Kaempfer, 124, says that medicines for the use of the King and the courtiers were prepared "à Pharmacopaeo Regio sub directione Archiatri." He also records the existence of a Parhīz-khāna in which various dietary decoctions and juleps were prepared.

Chardin, V, 169, points to a close connection of the Astrologers with the Doctors, the former's advice being asked for before carrying out the latter's prescriptions. Astrological superstitions were considered one of the causes of the de-

1 Several villages bearing the name of Ev-oghlï exist in Persia (north of Khov) and Transcaucasia. In Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, I, 389a, read the name of the author of a Collection of State papers, Ev-oghlï (instead of *Īvāghlī*).

2 From the young ghulāms properly so called must be distinguished the young noblemen who in the company of the young Princes received a particularly careful education, v.i., p. 149.

3 There is some confusion between this place and the Anbār-i ghulāmān, *ibid.*, VII, 388, where the soldier-ghulāms (v.s., p. 36) received their food. Kaempfer, 132, is possibly wrong when he explains that in this "hospitium mancipiorum" Georgian boys, etc., were taught "ut servire Majestati possint."

cay of the Persian army. The astrologers, "rendered shy by their profession," the eunuchs and the ladies were the principal pacifists: "ils dissuadent de la guerre tant qu'ils peuvent," as a military chief said to Chardin, V, 324.

The section on the activities of the Muʿayyir al-mamālik contains a mass of valuable and precise information. The author's familiarity with the subject may indicate that he was personally connected with the Mint. Still more curious is his tendency to diminish the extent of the King's profits from the Mint, in the heyday of Safavid dominion (f. 39b). Behind such insistence one might suspect a desire to reduce the responsibilities of the Muʿayyir in office, or even of a candidate *in spe*!

Our text shows that the Controller of Assay was much more than a mere Warden of the Mint (*ḍarrābi-bāshī*) (§48).[1] Occasionally the two offices were separated, the Muʿayyir always maintaining the supreme control. The matter which gave much importance to this officer in the eyes of the Shah was the payment of seignorage from the Mint. Its amount depended on the standards of currency, and the fixation of the latter was a delicate task, for on the one hand it was desirable to squeeze out as much profit as possible, and on the other, a debasement of coin might upset the market and even provoke trouble.[2] The Muʿayyir-bāshī had agents throughout Persia who con'trolled the production (?) of precious metals.

Some similar rights belonged to the Zargar-bāshī, head of the Jewellers Dt. (§155). Our source suggests that he levied some fees for the scrutiny of jewels in Isfahan. According to Chardin, V, 356, whose professional testimony is particularly trustworthy, the Zargar-bāshī, inspected all the work done in the Jewellers' Dt. (v.s., p. 22), fixed the price of the jewels and controlled all the jewellers and goldsmiths of Isfahan. He collected 2 per cent. on the jewels sold to the court and 1 per cent. on those sold in town. His chief income was from the 5 per cent. fee which he collected on the gold and silver exported from, and imported into Persia ("qu'on transporte hors du royaume"). The Zargar-bāshī had free admittance to the Palace.

We shall now proceed with the detailed analysis of §22.

The process of coining.—The description of the nine stages through which the precious metals went before taking the shape of a coin is the more valuable because neither Chardin nor any other contemporary travellers, as it seems, give any description of the Persian Mint. Even the *Āyīn-i Akbarī*[3] is of little help as a parallel for the explanation of our text.

1 I translate "Controller" and not "Master" in order to avoid the English associations. At the English Royal Mint, the King's Assay master came in rank and in pay after the Warden and the Master of the Mint, and was a technical controller of the standard fineness of bullion; the Rev. R. Ruding, *Annals of the coinage of Great Britain*, 3rd ed., 1840, I, 38.

2 In Great Britain the profits arising from coinage were: seignorage, moneyage, shere or remedy (i.e. admission of some inevitable percentage of underweight), the difference between the tower pound (for purchases of bullion) and the troy pound (for coined bullion), and some small deviation from the authorised "indenture," Ruding, 92, thinks that these items "constituted no unimportant part of the revenue of our early monarchs," though their exact amount cannot be now evaluated. Nor is it now possible to estimate the expenses of workmanship.

3 *Āyīns*, 4–9, accompanied by illustrations of various processes of the Imperial Mint, see plates I–III in Blochman's translation.

For a long time there had been very little progress in the methods of the Mints. The time-hallowed process of making money was as follows: "first it was cast from the melting-pot into long bars; these bars were cut with shears into square pieces of exact weight; then with tongs and hammer they were forged into a round shape; after which they were blanched, that is, made white and refulgent by nealing or boiling and afterwards stamped or impressed with a hammer to make them perfect money." At this last stage the sole expedient employed was "to fix one die firmly in a wooden block, and to hold another one in the hand as a puncheon; when by striking the latter forcibly and repeatedly with a hammer the impression required was at length worked up." In France the power of the screw was applied to coinage about the middle of the 16th century. In England the invention was introduced in 1561, but still concurrently with the ancient method which was not definitely given up before 1662. It was not until 1788 that Boulton devised the first machine replacing the screw operated by hand; see Ruding, I, 67. In view of this chronology, it is no wonder that the processes described in our text correspond to the ancient process of coinage.

Standards of precious metals and weight of coins.—As regards the standard of gold, it seems that the term *du-butī* refers to Venetian ducats ("sequins," v.s., p. 27). The traditional form of gold currency is clear from the terms *ashrafī-yi kuhna-yi du-butī* (or *du-butī-yi kuhna*). Chardin, IV, 182, says that gold coins were struck only on solemn occasions (such as the King's accession to the throne, the New Year, etc.) and had the character of medals ("sont comme les jetons en France, n'ayant pas de cours parmi le peuple"). The basic weight of the ashrafī was 4½ dangs, i.e. ¾ mithqāl,[1] but there were found both fractions of an ashrafī and some particularly large coins called *muhr-i ashrafī*,[2] to which the strange denomination *dastaja-kila* (f. 39b) may refer.

For the gold used for plating silver there was a gradation of standards of 5, 10 and 15 per cent.

The current money was silver "lequel est, ou doit être, au titre de la monnaie d'Espagne, mais en diverses villes on en baisse le titre," Chardin, IV, 181. Kaempfer, 53, particularly refers to Ḥawīza (v.i., p. 196) as the only trustworthy mint (*solam adulterii expertem*).[3] Besides the capital of the Vālīs of Khūzistān, Kaempfer mentions Nakhchewan, Erivan and Tabriz, whose governors had the right of striking money. This list, however, could be considerably increased.[4] The basic

1 See R. S. Poole, *The Coins of the Shahs of Persia*, 1887, pp. 1–72, 265–73: a gold coin of Ismāʿīl I 0,744 mithqāl, ditto of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn 0,70 m., ditto of Tahmāsp II 0,685 m.

2 *Ibid*., a coin of Khudā-banda weighing exactly 1 m., ditto of ʿAbbās 1,67 m. Vasmer, *Zur Münzenkunde der persischen Schahe*, in Islamica, VI/2, 1933, 137–81 (using H. L. Rabino's new materials), 138, describes a coin (of 2 tomans?) weighing 10 m.

3 Cf. *Mushaʿsha*ʿ in *E.I.*, Supplement. The historian of this dynasty mentions some difficulties experienced by Sayyid Faraj-Allāh (towards the very end of the seventeenth century) who sent to Isfahan a consignment of money without the Shah's sanction. Le Brun, 313 (French original, 226) confirms the fact that only *maḥmūdi-yi Havīza* were accepted in commerce, the merchants paying for them 1–6 per cent, above their intrinsic value.

4 R. S. Poole, o.c., 1–54, describes the coins struck, under Sulayman, in Isfahan, Ganja,

silver coin was the ʿabbāsī introduced under ʿAbbās I, which weighed officially 1 mithqāl = 6 dangs = 4,64 grammes = 71,60 grains troy.

Seignorage and its fluctuations.—Out author quotes some apparently first-hand data on the fluctuations of the rates of seignorage (*vājibī*). He considers four periods: (A) earlier Safavid, (B) later Safavid, (C) before the siege of Isfahan by the Afghans, and (D) under the Afghan Maḥmūd. The seignorage in dinars per mithqāl[1] was as follows:

		(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
Gold:	Minted	30	50	50	50
	Special quality	—	—	—	100
Silver:	Minted	2	5	33 9/16[2]	10
	Special quality	—	—	—	16

The ashrafis were much more stable than silver money and the seignorage from them remained within the limits of 30–50 dinars. According to Vasmer, *o.c.*, the ratio of gold and silver in Safavid times was 15·83:1. This ratio is more or less reflected in the rates of seignorage at the normal periods (A) and (B).

With regard to the ʿabbāsī (= 200 dinars) the normal seignorage of 2–5 dinars represented a modest rate of 1–2·5 per cent. Consequently Chardin, V, 398, comes close to the truth when among the Shah's seignoral rights he mentions the 2 per cent, levy on the coins.[3] At another place, IV, 187, he remarks that "le droit de monnayage (en Perse) est plus gros qu'en pays du monde, car il y va à 7½ per cent." This "droit de monnayage" may, however, refer to the cost for private persons of having their bullion coined, i.e. to something quite distinct from seignorage.

Shortly before the period (C) the weight of the ʿabbāsī, from 6 dangs = 1 mithqāl was raised to 7 dangs = 1⅙ m.,[4] but then (period C) the additional 1 dang of silver was taken off the weight and added to the King's share. As the value of the ʿabbāsī at seven dangs remained 200 dinars, the addition to the former seignorage was reckoned as 200 ÷ 7 = 28⅐ dinars, and the total amount of the King's emoluments became 5 + 28⅐ = 33⅐ d.,[5] i.e. *circa* 16 per cent. of the nominal value of

Tabriz, Nakhchevan, Hamadan, Rasht and Qazvin, and under Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, at Isfahan, Tiflis, Tabriz, Ganja, Erivan, Kashan, Mashhad, and Nakhchevan.

1 See footnote 3 on p. 144.

2 1 mithqāl = 24 tasūj (or nukhuds) = 96 shaʿīrs. More likely the reading is "33½ d., 1 tasūj, 2 shaʿīrs," amounting to 33 54/96, or 33 9/16 d., than "33 dinars, ½ tasūj, 2 shaʿīrs," amounting to 33 4/96, or 33 1/24 dinars.

3 The seignorage (exitus lucri) of the earlier Kings of England arising from the coinage of silver was from 2·5 per cent. (A.D. 1222) to 3·75 per cent. (A.D. 1300). Under Elizabeth a pound weight was coined into £3, (or even £3 2s.) out of which the Queen retained 1s. 6d. to 1s. 10d., the expenses of coining being 8 to 16 pence; the remainder was paid out to the merchant owner of the bullion. Consequently the seignorage amounted to 2·5 per cent, or slightly more; Ruding, *o.c.*, 88–93.

4 We can only guess the reasons, such as the cheaper cost of silver, or an increase of alloy.

5 In the author's terminology, "⅐ mithqāl" is described as "28½ dinars, 1 tasūj, 2 shaʿīrs." This expression is misleading because ⅐ was not deducted from the *weight* of 1 mithqāl but from

the ʿabbāsī. This extraordinary measure was undoubtedly taken in the throes of the crisis caused by the Afghan invasion. But it is a mystery how such an expense could have been borne by the coin the weight of which was meanwile reduced from 7/8 to 5/8 of a mithqal, unless its standards were debased. The words of our text that the new ʿabbāsī "devaluated the Royal currency" clearly hint at the disastrous results of this debasement.

Maḥmūd's reform (D) consisted in the increase of the weight to 9½ dangs, i.e. $19 \div (2 \times 6) = 19/12$ mithqāls, parallel to the raising of the nominal value of the ʿabbāsī to 5 shāhīs = 250 dīnārs. If we disregard the obscure question of the standard, the amount of metal to each dinar was, in mithqāls:

Period C..... $\frac{1}{200} = 0.005$

Period D..... $\frac{19}{12 \times 250} = 0.006$

This represented a return to normal, and the lowering of the seignorage from 33⅓ d. to 10 dinars rendered possible an improvement of the standard. Consequently we can accept the statement on the popularity of the new coins. In the author's words counterfeiting (*qullābī*) became no more profitable "with the weight of metal (*zar*) in the coins." In this case, the term *qullābī* must evidently be taken only in the sense of unauthorised issue of money by private persons desirous to pocket the profits which the official Mint makes in striking coins inferior to their nominal value.[1]

The statements of our source relating to the period after 1130 H. can be checked by the available numismatic data, as found in R. S. Poole's catalogue.[2]

(a) An inedited ashrafi of Maḥmūd weighs 3·48 grammes = 53·7 grains, i.e. roughly 0·75 mithqāl, as before.

(b) During the period from 1129 to 1133 H. the weight of an ʿabbāsī from 1 mithqāl (= 71 grains) was raised to 7/8 mithqāl (= 83 grains), but in 1133 brought back to 1 mithqāl. In R. S. Poole's catalogue the following weights in grains are found:

1130	67·7–76·1–83·5	1133	67·1–83·2
1131	82·1–83·2	1134	83·3–82·4
1132	80·3–83·9–79·2		

During 1130 the weight gradually rises from under 1 mithqāl to full 7/8 mithqāl. The latter weight persists during the subsequent years, but in 1133 falls to the underweight of a mithqāl, the high weight of *circa* 83 grains being still maintained

the value of 200 dinars. As regards the weight, 1/7 was deducted not from 1 mithqāl (= 6 dangs), but from 7/8 of a mithqāl.

1 This case is different from a pure falsification (*qalb-zanī*) of coins, which, on the contrary, would become more alluring if the basic coins were full weight and had more value. Such falsification, however, was easier to control and was subject to heavy punishment.

2 Before the evacuation of the collection of the British Museum, in 1939, I could only rapidly examine some of the additional late Safavī and Afghan coins.

(1133 and 1134) at the provincial mints of Tabriz and Nakhchevan.

(c) The Afghan usurper Maḥmūd first continues the tradition of ʿabbāsī of 1 mithqāl,

1135 71–69·5–69

but the British Museum possesses an ʿabbāsī of his of the new type of 9½ dangs (= 114·3 grains). The coin (not yet described) weighs 113·8 grains, which is very close to the standard. The improvement did not last long, for the abbasis of the later part of Ashraf's reign revert to the 1 mithqāl type

1141 70·5

The title of the MUNSHĪ AL-MAMĀLIK is already attested in Mongol times, Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, p. 158. It might be best translated as "Secretary of State" had not the Majlis-nivīs (§17) a better claim for such an appellation. Chardin, V, 451, translates the title as "écrivain du royaume" and "State Scribe" seems to be the safest equivalent in English.

The Munshī al-mamālik opens the list of the innumerable clerical staff of the Safavi administration, which was a busy world of red tape making endorsements, inscribing sacramental formulas, affixing seals and collecting fees.

Chardin, V, 452, enumerates six important Secretaries and Keepers of the State Seals:

(1) *Munshī al-mamālik* (§23) whose business it was to expedite the documents concerning the empire in general, or the provinces, and submitted to the Great Seal.

(2) *Raqam-nivīs* (our §27), concerned with the King's orders along the Divan line of administration.

(3) *Ḥukm-nivīs*, to whose competence belonged the documents submitted to the Small Seal, either of the Dīvān or the Khāṣṣa branch.

(4), (5) and (6) were the keepers of the seals, evidently corresponding to our §24, §25 and §26.

In spite of considerable parallelism, our text does not exactly cover Chardin's definitions. For more details on seals see (c).

There is no doubt that the Munshī al-mamālik was an important dignitary, for he was a confidential member of Royal assemblies and had a considerable staff. He was in charge of at least a part of the Shah's correspondence (§23 refers to documents called *parvāna*, *javāb-nāma* and *mithāl*), but it is not easy to draw a clear line between his functions and those of the Vāqiʿa-nivīs (§17). There may have been some difference in the classes of documents submitted to either of them. As regards the term *tughrā*, its meaning has been commented on under §17. The tughras "in gold and red" (not in black!) traced by the Munshī al-mamālik must be precisely the formulas *ḥukm-i jahān mutāʿ*, etc., enumerated in our text. An

example of these endorsements is found, for example, before the text of Or. 4935, No. X. The term *tughrā* may. also cover certain benedictory formulas containing the names of God, ʿAlī and the Imāms standing at the top of some farmāns. We have to assume that the tughrās of §17 were inscribed on the verso, and those of §23 on the recto of the documents.

The Keeper of the August Seal, as Chardin explains, V, 453, was not responsible for the actual keeping of the seal, which was usually entrusted to the care of the King's Mother. On Fridays the documents, already sealed by the ministers, were sent to the gate of the harem, where the box with the state seals was also produced. As the documents were read to the King, the "Keeper" moistened the appropriate place and presented the seal which the King affixed thereto. The Muhrdār's office, a very remunerative one, appears a mere sinecure, but he may have had some function as a "minister without portfolio." On his fees see §98.

The Keeper of the Small Seal did not enjoy the right of sitting in the King's presence (provided f. 43b is exact). On his fees see also §99.

§§20, 27. The Inkhorn-holders were dignitaries of much lesser rank. Their salaries were very moderate and at public assemblies they had to stand in the row of the arm-bearers. On their emoluments see §101 and §102. As §102 undoubtedly belongs to §27 (*Davātdār-i arqām*) it appears that contrary to the heading of §27, the Davātdār of the Signet-ring (§26 and §101) was sometimes called *Davātdār-i aḥkām*. If our identification of the tughrā drawn by the Vāqiʿa-nivīs (§17) is right, the seal of the signet-ring (§26) is perhaps the oval seal figuring immediately under the endorsement on verso of Or. 4935, No. XII, etc. According to Chardin, V, 451, "the Davātdār" was always near the King with an inkhorn in his cumberband and paper inside his coat, ready to take down orders. This seems to refer not to our §§26, 27, whose duties consisted in affixing seals, but to some scribe on the staff of the Munshī al-mamālik (f. 40b).

B. The muqarrab al-ḥaḍrats

This class of officials consisted of trusted servants, though not intimately associated with the person of the King.[1] They are divided into two categories: in the first are placed various officers under the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī (§9, §28), and in the second, the heads of the departments of the Royal Khāṣṣa, depending on the Nāẓir-i buyūtāt (§11).

(a) The staff of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī

§28. The Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī of the Harem only controlled the "threshold" of the Harem and had no part in the more spectacular activities of his colleague of the Divan (§9). To the latter he must have stood in a somewhat subordinate

1 There may have been some other categories too, cf. the Nāẓir-i daftar-khāna-yi humāyūn (§53).

position. It is characteristic that the Lashkar-nivīs (§63) of the Divan acted also for the personnel of the Harem.

§§29, 30. The word YASĀVUL comes from Mong. *yasa*, "law, order," and refers to officials enforcing order in the King's presence. In Safavid times the YASĀVULĀN-I ṢUḤBAT apparently held the position of the present day aides-de-camp. The two passages from the *ʿĀlam-ārā* quoted on p. 137, indicate the employment of the yasāvulān-i ṣuḥbat on more important missions as persons enjoying the Shah's confidence. Chardin, V, 361, calls them "huissiers d'honneur," and says that during ceremonies they carried painted and gilt staffs.

The yasāvulān-i ṣuḥbat were recruited among the sons of the noblest amirs. Thanks to Sharaf-khan's *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 450, we have a glimpse of the education of the young noblemen admitted to the company of the Princes in the Royal Harem. They were entrusted to the care of Tutors of experienced piety and morals. As they grew up, they were taught all kinds of military exercises, including polo. Even painting was a part of their syllabus, for Shah Tahmasp used to say that this art "straightens the man's tastes" (*saltqa-rā bar-rāst mīkunad*).

This system of education hardly applied to the YASĀVULAN-I MAJLIS,[1] who were less distinguished. The yasāvuls of both descriptions were under the orders of the Great Master of Ceremonies (§9), but while the Y.-ṣuḥbat stood before the King, the Y.-majlis went about the hall to transmit the King's orders. Kaempfer, 85, 175, seems to confuse them with sufi guards.

§31. The entrance of the Harem being watched over by §30, the other entrances were entrusted to the GATEKEEPERS, of whom the one controlled those leading into the part of the palace open to the public, and the other guarded the access to the reserved apartments. The term *daulat-khāna-yi maydān* must refer to the halls situated by the chief gate, the so-called *Ala-qapu*, "Motley, or gaily painted gate" (usually called *ʿĀlī-qapu*). This gate occupied a central position in the front wall of the palace which formed the western side of the great Maydan. The Kitchen gate was situated at the south-western end of the wall, and that of "the Four Ponds" at its north-eastern end. Consequently, the Gate-keeper looked after all the front-wall entrances. In all, there were five entrances, but the position of the two others is not quite clear. The Harem was on the southern side of the Palace. *Bāgh-i khalvat* ran along the northern side of the triangle formed by the Harem, between the latter and the *Bāgh-i Chihil-sutūn* which occupied the north-eastern corner of the palace, see Chardin, VII, 386–7 (the chief, but not a very explicit authority), Kaempfer, 178 (a valuable plan) and E. E. Beaudoin, *Ispahan sous les grands Chahs*, forming No. 10 of the second year (1932?) of the review *Urbanisme* (numerous plans and croquis).

(b) The Ṣāḥib-jamʿs

These officers were the Heads of the various Departments or Workshops

1 On the education of ordinary ghulāms see above, p. 141.

(*buyūtāt*) composing the Royal Household, and controlled by the Nāẓir-i buyūtāt (§11).[1] The author first describes the routine followed by the Workshops in obtaining credits and then enumerates single divisions. At the head of each department there was a Ṣāḥib-jam‘ under whose orders, or perhaps at whose side, stood a Mushrif "inspector" (§52). Part of the latter's business was to draw up an estimate of credits necessary for the department. A report in that sense was submitted to the Head of the Private Household (Nāẓir, §11). After scrutiny of the estimate, the Vazir of the Workshops (§50) embodied it in a report to the Grand Vazir (§6) without whose endorsement no credit was valid. As soon as the Grand Vazir's ta‘līqa had been obtained, the Ṣāḥib-jam‘ prepared receipts which were countersigned by the Vazīr-i buyūtāt (§50) and the Mustaufī-yi arbāb-i taḥāvīl (§51), and sealed by the Nāẓir (§11). Then only the receipts could be presented for payment.

In the list of officials of the Rikāb-khāna (f. 101b) the term *taḥvīldār* appears at the first place, where we should expect *ṣāḥib-jam‘* (cf. §43). The *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 178, explicitly refers to the Mihtar Shah-quli rikābdār, i.e. the holder of the office described in §43, as *taḥvīldār-i rikāb-khāna*. The taḥvīldār of the Royal Buildings (§42) also figures in the series of ṣāḥib-jam‘s. Consequently the terms *ṣāḥib-jam‘* and *taḥvīldār* are two equivalents and this explains the queer title of *Mustaufī-yi arbāb-i taḥvīl* (§51): belonging to the official who was undoubtedly the Mustaufi of the Ṣāḥib-jam‘s [Arabice *arbāb-i tahvīl* = Persice *taḥvīldārān* (cf. f. 19b in fine)].[2]

According to our author (f. 20a) there were 33 buyūtāt or kārkhāna, cf. f. 18a (departments, workshops) included in the Royal Household, but his data referring to them are scattered and incomplete. More detailed indications are given under §32–§59. To some other divisions reference is made only in the paragraphs enumerating the salaries and fees of their heads (§139–§164) and mushrifs (§127–§138). In the following table we have tried to systematise these data. In all, there are 34 items in our list. Some of them possibly refer to secondary divisions which more often were joined to other departments (cf. §152).[3]

1 The *buyūtāt* were situated inside the palace at the end of the avenue beginning at the main entrance. Chardin, v, 372 : "Quand on passe droit par l'allée où conduit le portail, on parvient à un grand perron, au haut duquel on trouve de grands corps de logis de tous cotés, qui sont ces magasins du roi, ou galeries qu'on appelle *karkhané*, c.-à-d. *maison d'ouvrage*, parcequ'on y travaille pour le roi et pour sa maison."

2 However, the taḥvīldārs appointed by the Jabbādār-bāshī (§33) were so to say sub-ṣāḥib-jam‘s. Cf. also §91 on a taḥvīldār attached to the Amīrākhor.

3 Chardin, v, 49g, vii, 329, counts 32 kārkhāna and Kaempfer, 120–131, over 50 buyūtāt, many of the latter being apparently only subdivisions, such as *yoghurt-khāna* (Dt. of curdled milk), *chöräk-khāna* ("bakery"), etc. Cf. also Du Mans, 18–24. At the Mughal court there were 36 kārkhāna, but they were maintained chiefly for purposes of State, and not merely for the convenience of the Household; Ibne Hasan, *o.c.*, 236. The Janissary corps in Turkey had 34 *khāna*, each with 25–30 artisans, recruited among the Janissaries and placed under a non-commissioned officer called "master" (*ustā*); cf. d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, 1824, vii, 323.

	Ṣāḥib-jam‘s.		Mushrifs.	
	Offices.	Salaries.	Offices.	Salaries.
(a) Treasury, etc				
Treasury	32	139		127
Ḍarrābī-bāshī	48		f. 54a	
Ṣarrāf-bāshī	49	164		
Zargar-bāshī		155		
Misgar-bāshī				132
(b) Military, etc				
Arsenal	33			
Artillery				138
(c) Food (cf. f. 18a: Kārkhānajāt-i khurākī)				
Kitchen		159		133
Butchery	38	145		
Fruit	37	146		134
Vegetables		144		132
(d) Drinks and Medicines.				
Ābdār-khānā	39	157		129
Saqqā-khānā		153		
Ayāgh-khānā		149		
Sharbat-khānā	47	147		135
Sharbat-khānā-yi ghānāt				
Qahva-khānā	41	161		
Shīra-khānā		150		
‘Aṭṭār-khānā (f. 33a)		163		
(e) Clothes				
Tailoring Dt. khāṣṣa	34	141		131
Ditto unmarā‘i	35			128
Wardrobe	43	140		
Sha‘r-bāf-khānā				136
(f) Furniture, lighting, etc.				
Farrāsh-khānā	36	142		
Mash‘al-khānā	44	154		
Hīma-khānā		152		
Keeper of buildings	42			
(g) Arts, etc.				
Library		158		130
Painting Dt.		162		
(h) Animals, stables.				
Stables	46	160		
Anbār	45			
Zīn-khānā		143		
Shutur-khān	40	151		
Qūsh-khānā				137

We shall now consider the duties of the principal ṣāḥib-jam‘ in the order of §§.

As stated on f. 31a both the Treasurer and his Key-keeper were eunuchs enjoying high esteem. The interesting point is that the Treasurer not only kept the sums and objects remitted to the Treasury, but also acted for the recovery of the remittances which were overdue.

The Director of the Arsenal was also a eunuch (f. 32a). Among the different classes of his subordinates Kaempfer, 124, mentions *chilingarān* "locksmiths," *kārdgarān*, "cutlers," *paykāngarān*, "makers of arrow-heads" *bārūt-sāzān*, "makers of gunpowder," *ātash-bāzān*, "fire-workers." On the other hand the Misgar-khāna (§156) seems to have formed a separate Dt. According to Kaempfer, it produced various kinds of copper vases, but its artisans were so expert as to use the processes of Jewellers. This reference is most probably to the famous copper work of Isfahan (chiselled vases, trays, etc.).

The Central Arsenal of Persia (*qūr-khāna*? but Kaempfer, 168: *jabbā-khāna*) was situated in the ancient fortress near the northern (eastern?) wall of Isfahan,[1] but, according to Chardin, VII, 328, the arms were manufactured at the Jabba-khāna situated near the Kitchen-Gate, in the S.E. of the palace. Of the two provincial arsenals, that of Erivan was intended for operations against the Ottomans; the whereabouts of that of Khāh are not known.

§§32, 35. The spelling of the Turkish term *qaychājī* is unusual, as scissors are called in Turkish *qaychi*. Of the two Tailoring departments, the first provided for the needs of the King and his harem, and also issued to the amirs robes of honour of a more precious kind, meant to have been worn by the King himself;[2] the second department issued presents of lesser value, which apparently were of three different kinds: *bālāpūsh* "overcoat," *qabā* "coat," and *tāj* ("coronet"?). The various headgears under the Safavids call for a special investigation. The *tāj-i vahhāj*, as described in §35, is probably identical[3] with the *tāj* which Sanson, 39, saw on the head of the Mihmāndār: "c'est un gros Bonnet couvert de brocard qui a une pointe qui s'élève sur le haut; il y a plusieurs aigrettes sur les bords, dont le bas est garni d'or émaillé, et le haut est rempli de plumes de hérons et de grues." Sanson adds that this bonnet "consecrated to the Twelve Imams" (!) was worn on solemn occasions by the Qizilbash and khans but not by the "Tat" (i.e. non-Turcoman) officials. Heron feathers seem to have been an additional distinction. The origins of the latter go back to Mongol times when the princes wore special hats with feathers (*örbelge*), and the noblemen long feathers on the back of their head-dress (*otagha*). The latter term is found in the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 122: under Shah Tahmasp

1 Chardin, VII, 483, calls it *Qalʿa yi tabarruk*, cf. Kaempfer, 49 and 168: *Kalai berruk* (sic), but in fact the old Iranian name of the fortress was *Tabarak*, see *Ẓafar nāma*, I, 432, *ʿĀlam ārā*, 287.

2 Alessandri I, 218, says that Shāh Tahmāsp daily changed his clothes fifty times and then distributed them at ten times their value.

3 On the contrary it was different both from the ordinary sufi *tāj* (v.s., p. 37), which was of red velvet, and from the *tāj-i tūmār*, "pileus circumligatus," Kaempfer, 44, which must have been a turban: pileus quidam singulari figura quo et ipsum [regem] coronari diximus et magnates ornari in solennissimis conviviis, ex aureo panno consutus et cimeliorum ordinibus magnifiée obvolutus," see fig. to facep. 36.

one of the Tājīk vazirs received as an exceptional distinction an *otāqa-yi ablagh* (*sic*) "a variegated feather."[1]

§36. There was undoubtedly some confusion as to the duties of the Farrāsh-bāshī and the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Mashʿal-khāna (§44), as stated in our source. One might suppose that the Farrāsh-bāshī acted as chief of the torch-lighters, while the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ was responsible for the keeping of the material. More probably, however, our text reflects some temporary combination of offices. In the chapter on salaries (§142 and §154) the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the Farrāsh-khāna and his colleague of the Mashʿal-khāna are treated separately. The Farrāshes, "carpet-spreaders, tent-pitchers,"[2] were the attendants at the King's palace and camp. The Farrāsh-khāna possessed a *dārūgha* (§106) who must have been in charge of the personnel. Different from the farrāshes were the *sarāy-dārs* employed only in the palaces and for rougher work (§42).

§§37, 38, 100. Only indirectly (in the section of salaries (§100, §133) does our source refer to the department of the Tūshmāl-bashi,[3] but Chardin, V, 349, quotes this "chef des intendants de cuisine," or "le premier maître d'hôtel du roi de Perse," in the first place among the Naẓir's subordinates. This officer was the superintendent of the King's kitchens and of "all that depended thereon." His charge was important in view of the display of ceremony ("à cause du grand maniement") attached to it. The Tūshmāl-bashi marched at the head of the King's viands the whole way from the kitchen up to the table. When the King was with his ladies the T.-b. led the procession to the gate of the Harem. At the public assemblies he acted as the taster of the food, which duty he performed at the entrance to the hall. During the whole meal he remained standing, and when the food was cleared away he had the right to thrust his knife into any plate previously served to the King and send it wherever he liked. The privilege must be appreciated in the light of the belief in the supernatural powers of the Safavid kings: the T.-b. must have derived some definite advantages from the operations with the food consecrated by his Master's touch. Kaempfer, 124, 245, who gives a very graphic description of the prandial ceremonies, calls the Tūshmāl-bāshī "supremus dapifer et culinae regiae inspector," and along with him mentions the real cooks (*āshpaz*).

As indicated before, the T.-b. must have had a special authority over the buyūtāt concerned with food. Of the latter there must have been many departments besides the fruitery and butchery described in our text, cf. also a reference to the ḥavīj-khāna (§144). Chardin, V, 351–4, and Kaempfer mention the bakery

1 In Mongol times owl feathers on the hat must have been a distinctive sign of royal falconers, see Rashīd al dīn, ed. Jahn, 342. [In the Life of Shah Ismāʿīl, Camb. Univ. Lib., Add. 200, f. 25b, *ablaq* is used in the sense of some embellishment of the headgear.]

2 Olearius, 274: "who makes the fire"; Du Mans, 157; "tendeurs de pavillons."

3 The word *tūshmāl* is Mongolian *tüsimel/tüshimel*, "a trusted man, an official," see Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvenrïy stroy mongolov*, 1934, pp. 139–40. The "taster" was naturally, a confidant par excellence. At present *tūshmāl* is used in Persia only with reference to the chiefs of Lur tribes, among whom Mongol institutions were introduced in the fourteenth century, see Minorsky, *Lur-i buzurg* in *E.I.* Karīm-khan Zand (of Kurdish origin) was contemptuously called by his opponents "tūshmāl Karim."

(*chöräk-khāna*), the pastry department (*ḥalvāji*), the *yoghurt*-dairy, the pickles department (*turshī-khāna*), etc. All these buyūtāt had this in common that their products in great part were supplied by the provincial governors who periodically sent to the Court caravans (*bār-kkāna*) of first-fruits or specialities of their provinces, see Du Mans, 22, 152, Chardin, V, 352.

§§39, §41 and §47 were in charge of water, coffee and refreshing drinks, as well as of the appropriate vessels and utensils. To their number must be added the *saqqā-khāna*, "water carriers Dt." (§153) and the *ayāgh-khāna* "Dt. of goblets" (§149), alias *chīnī-kāsa-kkāna*, "Dt. of china," in which, in spite of its name, gold and silver vessels were also kept and taken care of, Kaempfer, 125. In this case Turkish *ayagh* is used in the older sense of goblet.[1] The wine-cellar (*shīra-khāna*) receives but a passing mention in our source (cf. §150), though we know how liberally wine flowed at the drinking bouts in the "paradisiac assemblies" to which foreign ambassadors, merchants and even artisans were invited, cf. Chardin, III, 184, V, 474, Tavernier, Book V, ch. 5.[2] The only concession to the convention was that the divines who attended Royal assemblies retired as soon as they understood that the King wanted wine to be brought and music to be heard, Chardin, VI, 51.

§40. The camel stables are constantly referred to in our source as SHUTUR-KHĀN (not *khāna*). The camels under the care of the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ must have been those intended for the direct use of the Court while the Nāẓir-i davābb (§16, §96) controlled the studs and the contingents of pack animals belonging to the State (?). The fixed salaries of the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ, as well as of his colleague of the horse stables, were of a modest nature, see §151, §160.

§42. In conformity with the author's use, the plural TAḤVĪLDĀRĀN, referring to the series of the successive holders of the office must be translated as a singular, and the term interpreted as an equivalent of ṣāḥib-jamʿ. Chardin, X, 36, speaks of a "jeune seigneur qui avait en cour la charge d'arbab-tahvil [= taḥvīldār, cf. §51], c.-à.-d. chef contrôleur de tous les bâtiments du roi et des maisons d'Isfahan." The *sarāy-dārs* were the servants attached to the palaces and handling the furniture. In rank they were certainly inferior to the farrāshes (see §36).

§43. *Rikāb*[3] means "stirrup," but in the present case it refers to the King's Wardrobe (perhaps on account of the travelling kit which accompanied the King on his excursions). The importance of the salary of the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ (§140) suggests that he was the same dignitary as the MIHTAR-I RIKĀB-KHĀNA referred to in the

1 In a collection of Persian documents belonging to the Br. Museum (Or. 4935, No. IXb) there is an order (dated 1078/1667) by which the Shah appoints an *ayāghchī* to be under the Lala-yi ghulāmān with a salary (*marsūm*) of 2 tomans per year.

2 Chardin, VII, 375, speaks with much enthusiasm of the hall of the *shīra-khāna*: "il n'y a rien de plus riant et de plus gai cpe cette infinité de vases, de coupes, de bouteilles de toutes sortes de formes, de façons et de matières, comme de cristal, de cornaline, d'agathe, d'onyx, de jaspe, d'ambre, de corail, de porcelaine, de pierres fines, d'or, d'argent, d'émail, etc., mêlés l'un parmi l'autre, qui semblent incrustés le long des murs, et qui tiennent si peu qu'on diroit qu'ils vont tomber de la voûte." See also his Atlas, pl. XXXVIII.

3 F. 32a: *rakīb* with *imāla*: **rikēb* (?) is already attested in the *Shāh-nāma*. Kaempfer misspelt this form as *ʿiqīb*.

section on eunuchs (f. 32a). European authorities call him simply *Mihtar*.[1] His functions were far more important than those of a simple Master of the Robes, for this white eunuch was admitted into the King's closest intimacy. He helped him to dress and at the assemblies stood at his right. His distinctive mark was a small casket fixed to his sash and containing handkerchiefs, medicines and perfumes which the King might suddenly need.

§44. On some confusion between the competence of the Farrāsh-khana and that of the Mashʿal-khāna, v.s. under §36. According to Chardin, V, 369–72, this Head of the Torch-bearers was in charge both of the lighting and the heating of the Palace (cf. §152) and this double office brought him a considerable income. For some unknown reason he also controlled the Naqqāra-khāna, i.e. the band of strident trumpets and drums performing at sunset and at 2 a.m. from the balcony of the Royal Gate. Du Mans, 24, and Kaempfer, 87, mention a *Chaliji-bāshī, "Master of Musicians," who was in charge of the more melodious servants of the Muses, as well as of dancing girls, etc. ("saltatrices, recitatores, luctatores").[2] In view of the general functions of the Mashʿaldār-bāshī, the Chaliji-bāshī must have depended on him. In fact, the most lucrative part of the Mashʿaldār-bāshī's prerogatives was connected with his general supervision of every class of public entertainers,[3] as well as of all the disreputable places and professions. There were in Isfahan 11,000 registered courtesans and 1500 women practising more or less privately.[4] The latter, as more interested in secrecy and tranquillity, were particularly exploited by the Mashʿaldār-bāshī's henchmen, Chardin, V, 371. His agents collected fines on gamblers even in the remotest corners of cemeteries and ruined houses, Du Mans, 113.

Sanson, 100, gives a curious explanation of the reason why the Mashʿaldār-bāshī was in charge of these levies: Shah ʿAbbās being shocked with the idea of collecting "l'argent provenu du commerce infâme, ordonna, comme pour le purifier, qu'il soit employé à un usage où il passerait par le feu, c'est à dire qu'on en tirerait la dépense des flambeaux, des illuminations, et des feux d'artifices qui se font chez le Roy." At all events the Mashʿaldār-bāshī acted on behalf of the Shah, v.i., p. 182.

§§45, 46. Being buyūtāt of the Royal Household, these departments were under the Nāẓir but practically there must have existed some connection between them and the Amirākhor-bāshī (§16), as may be gathered from ff. 20b and 88a, cf. also §40.

§48. The Ḍarrābi-bāshī was the real Master of the Mint, under the orders of the Controller of Assay. From f. 35a it appears that the latter could combine the

1 Chardin, v, 377, 471: "grand chambellan," Tavernier, v, ch. 5: "grand maître de la Garde-Robe." *Z.T.*, f. 205b, refers to *Muḥammad. Riḍā āqā-yi khwāja mihtar-i rakht.*

2 Chardin, viii, 61, describes a house whose inmates were Indian players of horns and other big instruments, whom ʿAbbās ii had brought from Qandahār.

3 But see f. 81b on the Naqīb's attributions.

4 Kaempfer, 96: solus Ispahanensium syllabus meretricum harum 15.000 numerat, quae tributum solvunt 6000 tomanorum.

two offices. On f. 37b the Ḍarrābi-bāshī is also called *ḍābiṭ* and *taḥvīldār* of the royalties, by which is meant that he himself put aside and kept the sums due to the Treasury. Both the Ḍ.-bāshī and the Mushrif of the Mint were official persons, but the Controller of Assay appointed his own secretary to re-check the amount of royalties. The Ḍ.-bāshī must be distinguished from the *mustaʾjir*, "farmholders," to whom the minting of coins and the fabrication of *naqda* were sometimes farmed out (f. 39b). Says Olearius, 223: "The King farms out the Mint to private persons who gain most by it and share stakes with the money-changers. … (The latter) are obliged to bring all foreign money to the public Mint."

§49. The Ṣarrāf-bāshī not only controlled the good quality of the coins but possibly acted as a channel for draining gold into the Treasury. According to Father Pacifique de Provins, *Le Voyage*, ed. 1645, p. 409, the King gave 2–3 sols of profit to the persons who brought sequins to the changers (*ṣarrāf*). The latter carried the sequins to the King who had them melted and transformed into vases.

CHAPTER IV
ACCOUNTANTS AND SECRETARIES

Having enumerated the highest spiritual authorities (Chapter I), the highest dignitaries of State and Court (Chapter II) and the *muqarrabs* supposed to be within the reach of His Majesty's glances (Chapter III),[1] our author passes on to the secretaries and accountants somewhat screened from the rays of the Royal Sun by the shadow of their immediate chiefs. In Division I reference is made to the central staff of the Royal Household (khāṣṣa) helping the Nāẓir-i buyūtāt to control the expenses of his departments. Under Division II are grouped the secretaries, accountants, auditors, etc., belonging to the Divan branch of administration. In the whole chapter only the Nāẓir of the Secretariat (§53) is called *muqarrab al-ḥaḍrat* and two officials (§50 and §66) are given the special title of *ʿālī-ḥaḍrat*[2]; it is not clear to what appellations the rest of the officials (§51–§70) were entitled.

DIVISION I

§50. As the Nāẓir-i buyūtāt (§11) had engrossing administrative duties, the Vazīr-i buyūtāt assisted him in auditing the expenses of the various departments of the Royal Household. Chardin, V, 347, calls him "intendant, dont la charge est principalement de connaître de ce que le roi doit, et en tenir compte,"[3] and thinks that, being appointed by the King, he was a kind of observer even with regard to his own chief, the Nāẓir-i buyūtāt, cf. also *ibid.*, VIII, 62.

1 Though this is hardly true with regard to some of the ṣāḥib-jamʿs.

2 Cf. also in Chapter V, §75, §76, §78, §81 and §82.

3 Which hardly hits the mark of our §50.

§51. As his title shows, the MUSTAUFĪ-YI ARBĀB-I TAḤĀVĪL acted as mustaufī with regard to cash, goods and raw material entrusted to the "keepers" of the Royal Household. As already stated, the term *arbāb-i taḥāvīl* (a clumsy product of official scholarship) is an equivalent of the Persian *taḥvīldāran* (cf. §42). Consequently the said Mustaufī was the accountant controlling the property[1] distributed through the different Buyūtāt of the Royal Household. Chardin, V, 347, apparently refers to our §51 when he says that the second officer who, being under the Nāẓir's orders, in fact controls him, is called "erbab tahvil" (*sic*). He is also inexact in explaining that he is "un contrôleur-général des dépenses lequel estime et apprécie tout ce qui se fait et s'achète pour le Roi."

§52. Each department of the Buyūtāt had a Ṣāḥib-jamʿ (v.s., f. 45b) and a MUSHRIF, "Overseer." The former was the Head of the Department responsible for its general activities; the latter was the Inspector dealing with the administrative routine. The Mushrifs prepared estimates for the credits necessary for their Departments (f. 45b). They kept the day-books of the expenditure with vouchers for each item. This obligation was so strict that a Mushrif could appeal to the Nāẓir-i buyūtāt if the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ failed to present a voucher. This detail is characteristic of the ingenious system of control adopted in all the branches of Safavi administration. The Heads of the Departments had to act in close conformity with their collaborators, whose appointment was confirmed by the Grand Vazir, and even by the King. Says Chardin, V, 348: "Il est aisé de concevoir que la concussion, la malversation, et les autres fraudes ne sont pas si faciles à faire dans le royaume de Perse à ceux qui ont la surveillance des biens du souverain." Kaempfer, 120, who gives a detailed enumeration of the Buyūtāt (officinae Domus Regiae) calls the mushrifs "calculatores … qui officinarum consumptiones, accepta et expensa annotant, subductasque earum rationes quolibet mense censendas reddunt Superintendenti. …"

DIVISION II

§53. The NĀẒIR-I DAFTAR-KHĀNA-YI HUMĀYŪN-I AʿLĀ, who had a staff of nine scribes, was the head of the "Royal Supreme Secretariat" which, as it seems, took charge of raqams by which the Grand Vazir confirmed nominations, allowances, payments, etc. The Nāẓir himself had to perform certain bureaucratic formalities on the documents subjected to the Vazirial raqam.[2] Chardin thought that the Nāẓir, appointed by the Shah, controlled the activities of the Grand Vazir, but such an idea cannot be accepted without considerable reserve, v.s., p. 127. Very astonishing is the fact that the Nāẓir, as well as the Dārūgha of the Secretariat (§54) are mentioned (f. 28a) among the Mustaufī al-mamālik's subordinates. This indicates that the *daftar-khāna-yi humāyūn-i aʿlā* was regarded as a department

1 Chardin, v, 347, defines the practical meaning of *taḥvīl*, "tout bien en coffre."

2 It is probable that the documents themselves (or at least the more important part of them) were drawn up in the Dt. of the Majlis-nivīs (§17) and calligraphed in the *Dār al-inshā* of the Munshī al-mamālik (§23).

of the Dīvān-i aʿlā. In this connection we may remember that the scribes under the Nāẓir belonged to the Divan staff (f. 58b). No travellers seem to mention the special quarters of the Secretariat and it is possible that the latter was housed under the roof of the Divan, f. 10b. On the archives of the Daftar-khāna, see §67.

§54. Dārūgha, in Mongolian "chief," is a common administrative term. Judging by the *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 489 (v.i., p. 210) it was applied to governors in general, but in later times was more particularly used as the title of the governor of the capital (§77). On the other hand, in large government departments the head clerks controlling the staff were also called *dārūgha*. Such were the dārūgha of the Farrāsh-khāna (§106) and the dārūgha of the Secretariat. The amount of the latter's salary (§105) shows that he was of considerable rank. His close association with the Nāẓir of the Secretariat appears from f. 59a, but he was subordinated to the Mustaufī al-mamālik (f. 28a). A *dārūgha-yi daftar-khāna* is mentioned (f. 72b) in connection with the activities of the Dt. of Endowments, but we cannot definitely affirm his identity with §54.

§§55, and **56, 57** and **58, 59** and **60, 61** and **62** refer respectively to the Vazīrs and Mustaufīs of each of the four great military corps. Each pair (vazīr and mustaufī) had the same attributes as the other three, but our author speaks of them separately, slightly varying the terms of his uncouth definitions. Each pair was attached to the respective commanders of the four corps (§7, §8, §10 and §14) and assisted them in secretarial work and accountancy. It is noteworthy, however, that on review days both the vazir and mustaufi presented their report directly to the King, in the Commander's presence. This curious detail is altogether in keeping with the general tendency of Safavi administration of balancing the powers of departments and introducing semi-independent controllers into each of them.

Our text is somewhat hazy in its technicalities and does not enable us to draw an absolutely clear distinction between the functions of a vazir and a mustaufi.[1] We hear nothing of the staff of the vazirs, while each mustaufi had several scribes belonging to the "Divan service." The vazirs acted as secretaries and auditors, prepared documents of appointment, etc., and had the prerogative of sealing or endorsing a number of orders, certificates and statements, etc. The mustaufis were chiefly accountants and recorders. We hear of their seals only on claims for salaries but not on documents of appointments. They prepared *kayfiyāt* ("statements"), i.e. probably some kind of schedules to be filled in with figures and individual data, kept the files up to date and informed the Divan of the changes occurring in the position of the members of the particular corps. This last detail suggests that the mustaufis attached to the four arms were connected with the general organisation of *istīfā* controlled by the Mustaufī al-mamālik (§18). Less clear is the subordination of the vazirs, but it is probable that they were the eyes of the Grand Vazir in the military corps. The comparative importance of the vazirs and mustaufis is reflected in their salaries: the former had 100 (or 50) tomans,

1 Nor do contemporary European observers seem to have penetrated deep enough. into these arcana.

while the latter only 50 (or 30) tomans (§111, §112), though it is difficult to appraise the amount of their additional fees.

§§63, 64. The Lashkar-nivīs and the Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs were respectively the vazīr and the mustaufī of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī's department (§9). Consequently their relation was similar to that of any of the pairs of §56–§57, etc. However, the Lashkar-nivīs wrote and sealed the raqams of appointment of the whole staff of the Divan branch of administration, from the great Amirs down to the workmen of the workshops. His salary was small (§120), but he must have had a very large additional income from the fees collected on the documents passing through his hands. The fact that he kept the personal files of the governors probably gave extra weight to his prestige.[1] We have seen above that the four principal corps of the army had their own vazirs and mustaufis, but the Lashkar-nivīs appointed his own representative to armies engaged on expeditions. Originally this privilege may have had some connection with his title of "Army-scribe," though *lashkar*, in later official speech, referred both to the military and court staff, cf. Chardin, V, 437.

The Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs (or *Zīr-u-sar-kkaṭṭ-nivīs* as he is called on f. 14a) was associated with the Lashkar-nivīs as a mustaufi to a vazir, but practically their association was limited to affairs directly belonging to the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī's department. The salary of the Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs was higher than that of the Lashkar-nivīs (§121), but the rate of his fees was much more modest.

Both Chardin, V, 437, and Kaempfer, 89, consider the office of the Lashkar-nivīs as the third division of the Dīvān[-i mamālik]. Their descriptions of it agree very closely with our source and testify to the accuracy of their observations. Chardin calls the office in French "la chambre de rôle des domestiques," but for the rest Kaempfer's crisp Latin is more to the point: "Camera Leskernuwiis albo excipit à Rege stipendia merentes, videlicet ministros, aulicos, milites, opifices et servos; notans proprium cujusque nomen, locum natalem, mansionem, functionem et salarii quantitatem, et quicquid ad rationem indies solvitur vel praecipitur, ad assem notans, et cum solvendorum calculo subducens. Praeterea matriculam tenet Archi-Satraparum, quos appellant Beglerbegi, cum recensione primariorum ministrorum, et numeri quoque militum, quos singuli, vel pro statu suo, vel pro Rege et Regno sustinent. Eadem exarat bullas stipendiales (Bestallungs-Brieffe) pro iis, qui recipiuntur in servitium summi Principis; Unde etiam haec Camera appellari solet Defterchoneh serchaat." Chardin misheard the latter term as "Defter serkar."

§65. The Ḍābiṭa-nivīs was under the orders of the Mustaufī al-mamālik (f. 28a). In the enumeration of the ṣāḥib-daftars, the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 121, mentions a "Mustaufi-yi-māl, whom they call at present Ḍābiṭ [*Ḍābiṭa]-nivīs or Mufrada-nivīs." In explaining the functions of this official we have no help from European sources which do not mention him, unless they confuse him with some other

1 It is possibly from such registers that Iskandar-munshi has extracted his most valuable lists of amirs (v.s., p. 14). He refers to *thabt-i dafātir-i dīvān-i aʿlā*.

official.[1] Even though the class of the Ḍābiṭa-nivīs's salary (§113) is only a medium one, the number of scribes attached to him indicates the importance of his activities. The technical meaning of ḍābiṭa appears to be "collecting of revenues."[2] The paragraph on ḍābiṭa is then rightly followed by that on *taujīh* (§65 and §66, and similarly §113 and §114), the latter term being very close in meaning to "expenditure." According to *T.M.* the official dealt with all the revenue, with the exception of what passed through the Private Dt. and the *avāraja* books (cf. §115–§119). In the table of revenue (ff. 123b–127a) the totals of the great provinces are divided into the following items: avāraja, ḍābiṭa, khāṣṣa, arbāb-i taḥāvīl and mines. The three last classes being quite apart, the decisive distinction is between *avāraja* and *ḍābiṭa*. One might surmise that the *avāraja*-books registered the land taxes based on some kind of survey, while the *ḍābiṭa* stood for any other kind of revenue. In fact §65 is particularly interesting as giving a list of the sources of revenue controlled by the Ḍābiṭa-nivīs. In Chardin's terminology they would be called "seignorial." A detailed analysis of them is given below on p. 200.

§66. The Ṣāḥib-taujīh was under the Mustaufī al-mamālik's orders (f. 28a). Our author, interested principally in the routine of signatures and endorsements, gives no clear idea of the duties of the Ṣāḥib-taujīh. Chardin, V, 436, calls his office "régistre des économes ou de ceux qui font la dépense, parceque c'est dans ce bureau que [les billets d'assignations] se délivrent pour le paiement des gages et pour les autres dépenses. On y tient de plus un régistre général des revenus du roi, en forme d'état ou de journal; car on trouve là-dedans le revenu du roi établi en détail, le lieu, ou il est situé, en quoi il consiste, et qui en sont les possesseurs ou les administrateurs, etc. On y trouve les augmentations et les diminutions qui arrivent au revenu chaque année; les débiteurs, et le compte de chacun en particulier, avec les assignations données sur chacun d'eux; de sorte qu'il se pent dire que l'on tient dans ce bureautous les grands livres du domaine." Kaempfer, 89, very closely follows Chardin: "Defterchoneh Tausjèh ex libris Mustaufi Chasèh commentarios format possessionum, praetensionum et redituum Regis. Eadem indices tenet patrimonialium locorum; unius cujusque proventum notat, ac soluti solvendique rationes supputat: Praeterea refert in Catalogum nomina locorum, qui creditoribus, et quo nomine, assignandi veniant, ut, ad ejus tenorem, hujus Camerae Director Sahebtausjeh formare suas, quas vocant, Assignationes possit; quae ipsae valorem deinde fortiuntur ex subscriptione Quaestoris [i.e. Mustaufi] Elmemalik; sigillo insuper Regni Praesidis, imò pro re natâ, ipsius interdum Majestatis confirmandae." It appears then that the Office of taujīh was the Pay Department and, as the majority of payments were carried out through assigments issued to payees on lands and other sources of revenue, the Ṣāḥib-taujīh could be considered as Master of Assignments. This interpretation may find a support

1 Perhaps with the head of the *daftar-khāna-yi khulāṣa*, which Chardin, v, 436, describes as "le lieu des registres de la recette."

2 From Arabic *dabaṭa*, "he seized > he collected," cf. *ḍābṭ*, f. 37b, and *ḍābiṭ*, f. 54b. This meaning must be distinguished from *ḍābiṭa*, "a rule, a regulation," cf, ff. 20b, 41b, 79b.

in the etymological meaning of *taujīh* "to direct, to address." A subsidiary piece of evidence as to the meaning of the term is found in two passages referring to the activities of the municipal authorities; at one place the levies from the guilds are said to be *ḥavāla-va-muḥaṣṣas* (fol. 77b), and at the other *taqsīm-va-taujīh* (f. 81a). As *muḥaṣṣas* corresponds to *taqsīm*, *taujīh* and *ḥavāla* must be also convertible terms, both meaning that something is "drawn on somebody," an appropriate term for payment by assignments.[1]

Whatever the principal functions of the Ṣāḥib-taujīh might have been our text shows that his office carried out a series of other registering and auditing operations of an engrossing character. Chardin's view of the Ṣāḥib-taujīh's office as a kind of ledger of the State finance, is supported by f. 42a, where it is explained how attempts to evade taxation were frustrated by reference to the books of the Taujīh division.

Among other duties, the Ṣāḥib-taujīh kept the "Royal instructions" defining the tariffs of various casual levies and saw that they should not be arbitrarily increased. It is difficult to say to which particular king the term *navvāb-i ǧītī-sitān* on f. 69a refers. *Prima facie* one should think of Shah Ismāʿīl, but we know nothing about his enactments. Down to the time of Shah Tahmāsp the financial regulations of Uzun-Ḥasan were still current,[2] and our author mentions them once (f. 101r). On the other hand, under ʿAbbās I, the author of the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 405, quotes the *dastūr al-ʿamal* of Shah Tahmāsp.

§67. As it appears, the principal duty of the Daftār-dār was the keeping of the archives of the Royal Secretariat but, as usual, this officer had also to endorse a number of documents belonging to the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī's department, etc. He had his share of emoluments in the *rusūm* levied from the amirs, etc. (§125).

§68. The ʿAzab-bāshī was in charge of the lower personnel of the Secretariat, apparently under the orders of the Dārūgha-yi Daftar-khāna (§54). The ʿazabs[3] must have been a kind of "commissionaires" or "registering officials"; the farrāshes (cf. §36) acted as office boys and were used on errands.

§69. We learn from §85 that this Ḍābiṭ ("Collector") was appointed during the abeyance of the office of the Vakīl-i Dīvān-ī Aʿlā in order to collect the fees appertaining to the said office. Our § illustrates the system of collecting the dūshulluk, on which v.i., p. 177.

§70. The term *avāraja* (*avāraj*, *avāra*) is a very old term of Islamic (and probably Sasanian) accountancy. ʿAbdullāh Khuwārizmī in his chapter on the terms used in dīvān practice[4] says that *qānūn al-kharāj* is the original (document) on which the taxes are based, and adds: "*avāraj* is the Arabic form of *avāra*, meaning

1 The rather disappointing list of technical terms contained in Br. Mus. Or. 7721, f. 11b, says: "*taujīh* means to disperse (*mutafarriq*) the amount (*vajh*) of something; and as this operation is done in the taujīh office, the latter has been called accordingly."

2 See Minorsky, *A Civil and Military Review*, 142

3 Literally: "bachelors" In the Ottoman army there was a corps of ʿazabs

4 *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (end of the 4th/10th century), ed. Vloten, pp. 54 and 78.

in Persian 'what is taken out, transferred' (*al-manqūl*), because into (the *avāraj*) is transferred from the *qānūn* what single men owe, and it is fixed in the *avāraj* what (a man) must pay by instalments until the sum due has been paid off (*yustaufā*)." There existed also a term *taʾrīj* explained as a Persian (!) word meaning "order" (*al-niẓām*), "because it is like a rough copy (*sawād*) reduced to regularity (*ʿaqd*) with regard to a number of items the sum of which it is desired to know. And I think," says Khuwārizmī, "that it is the (grammatical form of) *taf'īl* from the word *avāraj*, ... because *taʾrīj* produces regularity similar to that of an *avāraj*: while under each name are entered the instalments (*dafaʿāt al-qabḍ*), they are written in regular rows (*maṣfūfan*) so as to facilitate their addition (*ʿaqd*) for an account. And thus a *taʾrīj* is done." Khuwārizmī, 78, further says: "*avāra* is what is registered (*yuthbat*)[1] at the end of a letter from a taxation document (*nuskha-ʿamalin*) or from some other letter, either incoming or outgoing."

These cryptic passages suggest that *avāraj* was a book or a document relative to the payment of taxes by individual payers, and in which the instalments of the payments were inscribed in an order convenient for making additions (*ʿaqd*).

Arabic dictionaries give a simpler definition of *awārija* as "a register, a book of income and expenditure" and also (under *wrj*) "registers, books in which taxes paid are. entered." Persian dictionaries explain *avār*, *avāra*, *ayāra*, *avāraja*, etc., as "a book of scattered [i.e. individual?] accounts" (*daftar-i ḥisābhā-yi parāganda*), or as "a book of receipts and expenditure," Vullers, I, 55[2] Arabic and Persian explanations seem to have preserved a trace of the original etymology. My friend Prof. H. W. Bailey has communicated to me (4.viii.1939) several Middle Persian passages which show that *aδvarč*>*ēvarč*, cf. *Frahang i Pahlavīk*, 38–9, may be a derivative of *vark-*, "to draw (out)" and have the meaning of "what is taken out, excerpt."

The Avāraja-nivīses were under the Mustaufi al-mamālik's orders (f. 28a). In our text the term Avāraja-nivīs stands in the plural and, in fact, in §115–§119 reference is made to the Avarāja-nivīses of the four great divisions of Persia ('Irāq, Āzarbāyjān, Fārs, Khorāsān) and an Avāraja-nivīs of the Mines. Moreover, on f. 92b the Avāraja-nivīses of Gīlān and Isfahān (= 'Irāq?) are mentioned. Several of these officials are again enumerated on ff. 124a–127a.

The revenue of 'Irāq, Fārs, Āzarbāyjān, to a great extent, figured under their own avāraja, but a striking fact is that under the items of a province figure also

1 Probably "a reference" to the files.

2 Or. 7721, f. 11b, among other explanations of avāraja, compares it with Persian *āvāra*: "a tramp who having come out of his home becomes distraught (*parāganda*)," adding that "the *avāraja* is prepared out of the (data of the) *qānūn* book which having come out of their home have become scattered in this daftar (i.e. the avāraja book)." Similar explanations are found in the treatise on accountancy *Baḥr al-javuāhir fī ʿilm al-dafātir* by 'Abd al-Vahhāb b. Muḥammad Amīn al-Shāhinshāhī al-Isfahāni, Tehran (?), 1271, p. 83: "*Āvāraja*: some say it is from *waraja*, which means 'to collect and to spend (*jamʿ va kharj*)'; others say that it is an arabicised form of *āvāra*, which means 'to be scattered,' and as the book of avāraja is taken out (*manqūl*) of the book of *qānūn*, it seems that the latter was the house and the day-book (*rūznāmcha*) (lived) in (that) house, then it was extracted from it and scattered in the avāraja book"!

some sums of the avāraja of other provinces. For example, in the total revenue of Kirmān (f. 124a) there are included items headed "avāraja of Khorasan," "avāraja of ʿIrāq," etc. This suggests that possibly the avāraja books served for certain transfers also: some of the Kirman revenue may have been ear-marked for the budget of Khorasan,[1] unless the procedure is to be explained by some arcana of financial routine. A hint at the competence of the *avāraja* Dt. is its distinction from the *ḍābiṭa* Dt. (ff. 67b and 124a–127a). Both belonged to the Dīvān-i mamālik but as the Ḍābiṭa-nivīs was specially (?) concerned with royalties and casual revenue (v.s., p. 159) from the whole of the mamālik, we have to assume that the keepers of the avāraja books registered revenue from State lands. If the *qānūn*, mentioned in the explanation of the term avāraja, is connected with the general cadastral survey,[2] avāraja seems to refer to the books destined to control the application of the qānūn to some definite areas.[3] The business of the avāraja-nivīses must have had in view the collection of taxes on State lands (*mamālik*) by Governors, etc., which explains their registering the correspondence with the officials "in whose care [the collection] of revenue is placed" (f. 71a), etc. Unfortunately §70 is very badly drawn up; the author drowns the general idea in an ocean of highly technical remarks on the routine of the *avāraja-nivīses*' work.

At the first place comes their duty "to inscribe names in the *kayfiyāt-i haqāʿiq-i daftarī*." This obscure expression (cf. f. 70b) may refer to the registration in some kind of schedule or general index.

Secondly, they made various endorsements on the documents presented by the agents of the Divan revenue.

Thirdly, they took over (*ḍabṭ*) and addressed the *parvānajat* relative to tiyūl, hama-sāla, etc. (or perhaps wrote on the documents the formula: *ḍabṭ-vaʾinvān*?).

Fourthly, they checked and registered the raqams and parvānas addressed to provincial authorities in charge of the collection of revenue.

All this is hardly an adequate résumé of the activities of the avāraja-nivīses who were no simple scribes, as the amount of their salaries clearly indicates (§115–§119). From the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 119_{11} we know that at some periods, under Tahmāsp I, there was no Mustaufi al-mamālik, his functions being divided between the *avārajanivīsān-i daftar-khāna*, each of whom "was the mustaufi of his own Department."

CHAPTER V
ON THE ʿĀMILS OF ISFAHĀN

This chapter enumerates the local authorities of Isfahan who did not belong to

1 Rather than vice-versa, in view of the respective importance of Kirman and Khorasan. In Tahmāsp I's time there was an avāraja-nivīs of "Khorasan and Kirman" and an avāraja-nivīs of "Āzarbāyjān and Shïrvān," cf. *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 121

2 Cf. Minorsky, *Review*, 142, on the *qānūn* of Uzun-Ḥasan.

3 Or to some particular sources of revenue, e.g. mines.

the central organs of administration.

The officials described in §71–§75 and §81–§82 are of the classes of vazīrs and mustaufīs. With the exception of the Mustaufi of Endowments (§72), the others come in pairs (§71 and §81, §73 and §82, §74 and §75), as under §55–§64. The text is not sufficiently detailed to enable one to discriminate between the provinces of these three groups.

§§71, 81. Sarkār-i fayḍ-āthār ("Department marked with vestiges of abundance") is a roundabout appellation to which our source gives no clue, except that from f. 4a we learn that it belonged to the competence of the Ṣadr-i khāṣṣa. In the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 119, there is an indication that a certain Mīrzā Shukrullāh, who under Ismāʿīl II had become Grand Vazir, was appointed by Muḥammad Khudā-banda to the *vizārat-va-mumayyizī-yi Khorāsān* and in the meantime to the *tauliyat-i sarkār-i fayḍ-āthār*. If this expression means that he became the Mutavallī of the sanctuary of Imām Riḍā in Mashhad, the identity of *sarkār-i fayḍ-āthār* with the estates of the Mashhad sanctuary would be established. It may be added that Muḥammad Muḥsin in his *Zubdat al-tavārīkh* (f. 205b) states that in 1132/1720 he was in attendance on the Nāẓir of the Cathedral Mosque of Mashhad and enjoyed the rank of vazir "in the same department," whereas in the Introduction to his book completed in 1154/1741 he calls himself *mustaufī-yi sarkār-i fayḍ-āthār* (cf. §81).[1] M. Muḥsin had certainly risen in rank since A.D. 1720, but his connection with his former service may have continued. The difficulty is that §71 and §81 figure in the chapter entitled "'Āmils of Isfahan," and refers to the "Maḥāll." As under the sources of revenue of the *fayḍ-āthār* Dt. reference is made to endowments (*mauqūfāt*), it is possible that this administration controlled the local revenue assigned to the Mashhad sanctuary which the Kings of Persia held in particular respect. This impression is corroborated by the fact that the following §72 also treats of endowments. Contrary to the other pairs of vazirs and mustaufis, the officers of §71 and §81 were direct managers of the lands under their administration, acting, as it appears, under the supervision of the Ṣadr-i khāṣṣa (§2).

§72. Our author gives few details of the Endowments. In §2 it is explained that in the cases when their managers had not been appointed from the outset, in conformity with the benefactor's will, they were appointed by either of the two Ṣadrs, in accordance with the character and the geographical situation of the vaqf (v.s., f. 4a). There existed a single Office of Endowments, both for the Khāṣṣa and Mamālik, and a numerous staff of vazirs, mustaufis, mushrifs, etc., but of the latter only the Mustaufī-yi mauqūfāt-i mamālik has a paragraph devoted to him in our text. His duties, as usual (cf. §75, §81, etc.), comprised both accountancy and clerical work. It is not clear what relation the Dārūgha-yi Daftar-khāna (f. 72b) had to the correspondence of the Office of Endowments.

Kaempfer, 99, speaks of a Vazir-i mauqūfāt who in case of the Ṣadr's death used to be appointed to take charge of the latter's office. On the other hand, Chardin, VI, 61, mentions only the Mustaufī-yi mauqūfāt "qui est un lieutenant des ṣadrs

1 Rieu's interpretation. *Supp. P.C.*, p. 24, as "Mustaufi of Nadir shah" misses the point.

faisant leur fonction en leur absence, comme je l'ai vu pratiquer à la fin du règne d'Abbas II." Chardin says that the *daftar-i mauqūfāt* was organised like the civil "chambres de comptes" (i.e. divans) and had two divisions (bureaux), "l'un pour les biens khāṣṣa, ou legs royaux, l'autre pour les biens légués par les particuliers," which explanation may be inexact in view of our text in which the distinction between the two Ṣadrs followed the lines of the two branches of civil administration. In practice the difference between their provinces was geographical.

§§76–80 refer to the civil administration of Isfahan but they also throw some light on the provincial organisation in general for *mutatis mutandis* Dārūghas, Kalāntars, Muḥtasibs, Naqībs and Mīrābs existed in all large centres.

§§73, 82. To the province of these two officials belonged the KHĀLIṢA LANDS, a term which in Qājār times had the meaning of "Government property, State lands." Unexpectedly, in our text *khāliṣa* seems to refer chiefly to demesnes of the khāṣṣa branch of administration: the Vazir was to see that no prejudice was done to the Khāṣṣa (f. 73a); the report on the Vazir's operations was submitted to the Mustaufi-yi khāṣṣa (f. 74a); the Vazir endorsed the receipts of the Buyūtāt-i khāṣṣa (f. 73a). All this suggests that the produce of the *khāliṣa* lands was remitted to the King's Household. It must be remembered that according to the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 252, "most of the estates (*amlāk*) of the vilayat of Isfahan were the Khāṣṣa of Shah Tahmāsp and were his private possessions (*khāṣṣ*)." Nevertheless, the Vazir of Isfahan collected the Divan taxes (f. 73a) and used the produce for the needs of the Divan (f. 74a). Such a contradiction might be explained by a loose terminology of our text, the term *Dīvān* in §73 standing perhaps for the Divan-i khāṣṣa (?).

Generally speaking, the Vazir of Isfahan, similarly to his colleague of §71, was the manager of the khāliṣa, an "intendant" in Chardin's terms.[1]

The formalities of the survey of crops (more briefly f. 73a) are described by Chardin, V, who explains that peasants were sometimes encouraged in their complaints by the "intendants" themselves because the latter made more profit out of unexpected contingencies than from a regular collection of taxes.

The Mustaufī (§82) was responsible for the accountancy of the Vazir's administration and meanwhile controlled the legality of the proceedings, for "without his seal no operations were possible."

> As in the case of the other Persian administrations, we are still unable to trace the origins and the development of the khālisa (in the present day connotation). The state-lands must have existed at all times, but their composition and the causes which contributed to their formation varied at each epoch. It is now believed in Persia that the later stock of *khāliṣajāt* came into being under Nādir-shah (A.D. 1736–47), who confiscated a large number of

1 Chardin, V, 380: "Les terres de domaine sont le bien propre et particulier du roi: une partie sert d'apanage à des charges; sur une autre sont assignés les gages de la plupart des officiers et domestiques de sa maison, et la paye des troupes que le roi entretient; une autre partie est aliénée par des donations à temps ou à vie, qui continuent quelquefois de père en fils à plusieurs générations; le surplus est en économie ou régie, dans les mains des visirs, ou intendans, qui font valoir le bien du roi, chacun en sa province."

endowments both as a financial and political expedient to abate the clergy which was still attached to the memory of the pious Shīʿa Safavids.[1] As it is known, the list of state lands compiled under Nādir (the so-called *raqabāt-i Nādīrī*) is still consulted by the financial agents. Nādir's successor ʿAlī-shah (1747–8) was surnamed *ʿĀdil* ("the Just") for the good reason that he restored some of the endowments abolished by Nādir. The Qājārs greatly increased the stock of khāliṣajāt by confiscating the property of their predecessors and of the dignitaries fallen into disgrace. See Jamāl-zāda, *Ganj-i shāyagān*, Berlin, 1338, p. 138, and K. Sanjabi, *Essai sur l'Economie rurale*, 1934, p. 94.

§§74, 75. Our text does not enable us to clear up the competence of the Intiqālī dt. The attributions of the Vazir almost word for word follow those of §73, with the only addition of *vaqfī* lands to the *khāliṣa* (ff. 75b and 76b). Like the Vazir of Isfahan he apparently belonged to the khāṣṣa branch of the administration. According to K. Sanjabi, *Essai*, p. 95, under the Qājārs the term *intiqāli* was applied to the state lands (*khāliṣajāt-i intiqālī*) assigned to individuals. On this analogy we might assume that the Intiqālī Dt. controlled the khāliṣa lands assigned ("transferred") to divines, officials, etc. It is quite possible, however, that in our case the term *intiqālī* refers to the lands "transferred" to the Khāṣṣa from the Mamālik administration.[2]

§§76, 79. The paragraphs on the Kalāntar and the Naqīb (of Isfahan) sum up the latter's duties quite satisfactorily: the Kalāntar appointed the katkhudās, contributed to the repartition of taxes among the guilds, formulated the desiderata of the latter, protected the raʿiyyat (peasants, or rather lower classes), etc. Chardin, VI, 79, appositely remarks that the meaning of *kalāntar* corresponds to that of mayor (from Latin *maior*), in French "prévôt de ville" (but VIII, 14: "prévôt des marchands"). Kaempfer's explanations, 141, are very close to our text: "praefectus enim est, civitati datus, ut pro salute civium vigilet. … Is jura et causas civium défendit in judiciis, et ne ultro vires et aequitatem à Gubematore graventur, impune obstat. Servitia forensia [scil. *corvées*] quae vocant, et onera quaevis, turn consueta, turn extra ordinem civium imposita, pro facultate singulorum distribuit; curat censuum et redituum publicorum collectionem, et similia."

The *T.M.* does not say much as to the organisation of the guilds [*ṣinf*, plur. *aṣnāf*), except as regards the adjustment of taxes (*bunīcha*) (ff. 77a, 81a),[3] and the confirmation of the heads of the guilds (f. 77a) and masters (f. 81b). From f. 77b one can gather that the guilds held some professional meetings, but Chardin, IV, 93, asserts that the guilds never met and that their organisation was quite loose. The guilds owed certain corvées to the King and those which were exempt from

1 The *Rauḍāt al-jannāt*, 199, describes Nādir's proceedings as *nār saṭwa hādhāʾl-malʿūn*, "the fire of assault of this accursed (man)."

2 Cf. what Chardin, v, 251, says on the transfer of numerous lands from the dīvān-i mamālik to the dīvān-i khāṣṣa.

3 Thévenot, 165: "Tous les Corps de métiers payent chacun au Roy une certaine somme d'argent, qui est prise sur tous les artisans de chaque métier, chacun d'eux estant taxé à proportion de ce qu'il gagne."

this duty paid a money substitute instead (*kharj-i shāh*), *ibid.*, 95. By *bunīcha* is probably meant a schedule according to which the global sum to be collected from the guilds was distributed among the single guilds and contributors.[1]

The Kalantar's salary is not mentioned. As he represented public interests more than the authority of the, State, it would have been natural for his emoluments to consist of fees levied on the guilds and wards of Isfahan.

The Naqīb (§79) was a deputy and assistant of the Kalāntar. Most probably both had to be chosen from among the local notables, though we know nothing of the system of their election. As regards the appointment of the elders of street performers, etc., the Naqīb's prerogative touched very closely those of the Mash'aldār-bashi (§44).[2]

§77. On the term *dārūgha*, v.s., §54. The Darugha of Isfahan was the appointed Prefect of Police with some judicial attributions. This latter circumstance may explain his subordination to the Divan-begi (§11). In the *Z.-T.*, f. 203a, the titles *dārūgha va ḥākim*, "darugha and governor," are joined together. The Dārūgha had considerable emoluments ranging from 300 to 500 tomans (§104),[3] and the office certainly afforded many opportunities for further enrichment. In later Safavi times the post was regarded as an exclusive prerogative of the members of the Georgian royal family (f. 7b). In Chardin's time, V, 334, VII, 319, the dārūgha Prince Iskandar-mīrzā, son of Shāhnavāz-khan of Georgia, occupied the house of the late Grand Vazir Sārū-Taqī. The above-mentioned passage in the *Z.-T.* refers to the Georgian Prince Khusrau-khan, who, after the murder of his uncle Shahnavāz-khan by the Afghans, was appointed in 1123/1711 sipahsālār on the Qandahār front and at the same time *vālī-yi Gurjistān*, i.e. from the Georgian point of view, king of Georgia, v.s., p. 124.

The Darugha's lieutenants are called in our text (ff. 78b and 79b) *aḥdās*, and this form is confirmed by Father Ange de Saint Joseph's *Gazophylacium Linguae Persarum*, 1684, p. 370: *aḥdās* "'asas-bashi, duzd-gīr, shab-gard, sulṭān al-layl, capo di sbirri, circitor, prévôt." Chardin explains *atas* (V, 263) and *ahtas* (VI, 78) as "prévôt de la nuit" and "chevalier du guet," while Kaempfer, 84, gives *akhdāth* (*sic*, in Persian characters), "achdas ... dominus carceris qui cum lictoribus suis noctu urbem permeantibus obvios grassatores ... captivos ducit."[4] This consensus

1 For another use of the term see Stack, *Six months*, II, 259, who writes that on the way from Forg (Fare) to Sīrjān he met with a method of assessment and distribution of the land revenue "by reference to a *bunīcha* or imaginary assessment, which, being multiplied by a certain figure, gives the real assessment of the village. The *bunīcha* (or *foundation*) is usually stated in tomans, and the land revenue is got by taking so many *qirāns* per *qirān*, or so many *shāhī* per *shāhī*," cf. A. Y. Miller, *Maliat Kerman, oblasti*, 138.

2 The *T.M.* says nothing about the *malik al-tujjār* who probably was elected by the merchants themselves. According to Chardin, V, 262, such "prévôts des marchands" existed in all the towns. According to Le Brun, 291, the chief of the merchants had to decide on mercantile proceedings and also inspected the weavers and the tailors of the Court. Something quite different was the purely honorary title of *Tājir al-malik* (?) which Shah Sulaymān conferred on Chardin, V, 289.

3 Confirmed by Chardin, V, 265: "300 tomans d'appointements qui sont 13.500 livres."

4 Cf. also Thévenot, 195: *aatas* "chevalier du guet"; Le Brun, 292; *aghdaas*, "chief of the

of the sources precludes the possibility of the readings *aḥrās* or *ʿasas*. Persian scribes, misled by the pronunciation in their language of *th* as *s* spelt the word with *s*, but the right form must be *aḥdāth*, abbreviated from [*ṣāḥib-*]*aḥdāth*, cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, 258: "préfet de police, celui qui est chargé de faire cesser les troubles." One used to say *kāna ʿalā aḥdāth Baṣra* "il était préfet de police à Basra." Cf. the use of *aḥdāth* on f. 3b.

The practice of attaching members of various services to the principal executive departments is also illustrated by the reference to *ajrlu* qurchis under the Divan-begi's orders (f. 21a).

The "King of the Night" appointed watchmen to guard the markets, etc., and probably had a ramified organisation of informers, cf, Chardin, VI, 78: "padcha cheb."

§78. The charge of the MUḤTASIB is an old Islamic institution and there exist a number of manuals on his professional activities.[1] Our source dwells particularly on his duty to supply lists of current prices for the guidance of the King's Private Dt., and to control the general markets.

The punishment called *takhta-hulāh* ("the wooden hat") is described by Chardin, VI, 129, as "une manière de pilori ambulant," applied to dishonest merchants using false measures: "on leur passe le cou dans une grosse planche de bois comme celle de nos piloris. Ils portent cette planche sur les épaules avec une clochette au devant. On leur met sur la tête un haut bonnet de paille, et on les promène dans leur quartier, où la canaille les charge de mille huées." Chardin adds that the more usual form of punishments were the fines and bastinadoes on the soles of the feet. Kaempfer, 142, gives a slightly different description of the *takhta-kulāh*: "mitra cuprea [?], ampla et profunda adeo ut caput humerosque operiat, utrinque à lictoribus in aequilibrio tenenda in ora seriem exhibens tintinnabulorum et unam caudam vulpinam."

Chardin, V, 263, in his description of provincial administration takes the NĀ'IB for a simple "chef de police."

The official called ṢĀḤIB-NASAQ turns up several times in our text in connection with the lists of current prices (ff. 17b, 50b, 80a) and counterfeiting of coins (f. 53b). No further indication of his functions could be found but he seems to have been a purely executive officer. In Qājār times the Nasaqchi-bashi was the Chief Executioner.

§80. The MĪRĀB was a highly remunerated official whose emoluments were evaluated by Chardin, IV, 100, at 4000 tomans per annum, apart from benefits made by his staff. Kaempfer, 84, knows the terms *mādī* (principal channels) and *jadval* (subdivisions of a *mādī*).[2]

watch which patrols the streets."

1 See in the last place G. S. Collin et E. Levi-Provençal, *Un manuel hispanique de Hisba*, Paris, 1931, and Ibn al-Ukhuwwa's *Maʿālim al-qurba*, edited by R. Levy, *G.M.S.*, 1938 (cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in *Jour. As.*, juillet, 1938, pp. 449–57).

2 See now on this question Ann K. S. Lambton, *The Regulation of the Waters of the Zāyande Rūd*, in Bull. *S.O.S.*, IX/3, 1938, pp. 663–73. The term *finjān*, "a water-clock, hour-glass," men-

§83. The duties of the Crop Estimator (*rayyāʿ*) are connected with the operations described on ff. 73b and 75a. The Surveyor (*massāḥ*) was his colleague in the fieldwork. Chardin, V, 383–8, describes the procedure in the case of the crops being damaged by hail, drought, locusts and the insects which he calls *sim* (read: **sen*)[1] "Lorsqu'il s'agit des biens du roi, l'usage ordinaire des intendans est de donner des commissaires aux villages pour examiner l'affaire sur les lieux." Chardin apparently refers to the *rayyāʿ*. This latter term which is unknown in Arabic must be an artificial derivation from *rayʿ*, "revenue arising from the increase of land," etc. (Lane).

§84. It is not clear why the Chief Gardener who reported to the Nāẓir-i buyūtāt (§11) figures at this place instead of being included in the list of the Buyūtāt (§32–§39).

CONCLUSION

PART I

(A) Salaries of the Central Administration

(a) Regular salaries
(b) Rates of salaries
(c) Fees
(d) Distribution of fees

The enumeration in the present chapter leaves out some of the offices described in the previous chapters, but, on the other hand, completes the list by the addition of some new items. In the following table, the sign → points to the principal § in which the same office is described. The offices recorded for the first time are marked with an asterisk. The numbers in square brackets [ ] after * refer to §§ with which the additional items are more or less connected.

85 *[6]	105 → 54	125 → 67	145 → 38
86 → 6	106 *[36]	126 → 53 (?)	146 → 37
87 → 2	107 → 18	127 → 52 (32)	147 → 47
88 → 7, 8, 10, 14	108 → 17	128 → 52 (35)	148 *[note, p. 109]
89 → 9	109 *[18]	129 → 52 (39)	149 *[note, p. 109]
90 *[28]	110 → 23	130 *(cf. 158)	150 *[39]
91 → 15	111 → 55, 57, 59, 61	131 → 52 (34)	151 → 40
92 → 16	112 → 56, 58, 60, 62	132 → 52 (100)	152 *[44]
93 → 12	113 → 65	133 → 52 (100)	153 *[39]
94 → 13	114 → 66	134 → 52 (37)	154 → 44

tioned in this article, p. 672, must originally have referred to the practice explained in Chardin, IV, 98: "on met sur le canal qui conduit l'eau dans le champ une tasse [*pingān>finjān*] de cuivre, ronde, fort mince, percée d'un petit trou au centre, par où. l'eau entre peu à peu; et lorsque la tasse va au fond, la mesure est pleine, et on recommence, jusqu'à ce que la quantité d'eau convenue soit entrée dans le champ. La tasse est d'ordinaire entre deux à trois heures à s'enfoncer. Cette invention sert aussi à mesurer le temps en Orient."

1 V.s., p. 87.

95 → 11	115 → 70	135 → 52 (47)	155 *[22]
96 *[16]	116 → 70	136 → 52(*)[v.s. p. 32]	156 *[33]
97 → 53	117 → 70	137 → 52 (*)[13]	157 → 39
98 → 24	118 → 70	138 → 52 (61–2)	158 *[cf. 130]
99 → 25	119 → 70	139 → 32	159 *[cf. 130]
100 *[37]	120 → 63	140 → 43	160 → 46
101 *[26]	121 → 64	141 → 34	161 → 41
102 → 27	122 *[9]	142 → 36	162 *[v.s., p. 148]
103 → 78	123 *[18]	143 *[15]	163 *[20]
104 → 77	124 *[f. 14b]	144 *[132]	164 → 49

Consequently, the salaries of Nos. 1, 3–5, 19–22, 28–31, 33, 35, 42, 45, 48, 50–1, 67–69, 71–76, 79–86 are lacking in our text, while officials not previously referred to appear under §§85, 96, 100–1, 106, 109, 122–4, 126, 130, 132, 136–7, 143–4, 148–150, 152–3, 155–6, 158–9, 162–3. For the 14 categories of lower ranks, the totals for each department are given on ff. 127b–129b.

The general problems of salaries are separately considered on p. 28–p. 30, and in this place we shall only examine the details of the various kinds of regular and irregular pay which the officials drew from either of the Dīvāns.

(a) Regular Salaries

Perhaps *qarār-i mavājib* (§99, §111, §112 but §88: *qarār-va-mavājib*), which we translate "fixed salary" represents the basic schedules of the officials' pay, although in Table III a more general term *madākhil*, "emoluments," is used with regard to the Governors.

The *inʿāms* were grants or rewards[1] of a more exceptional character given probably for some special reason, but the Grand Vazir (§86), who had no definite salary, had a yearly inʿām. Du Mans, 26, states how much the persons in Government pay depended on the King's liberalities, "espérant tousiours quelque fortune, commission, présent du Roy, qui ne leur manque pas de trois ans en trois ans." He adds that usually the inʿām is equal to a whole year's pay, so that he who receives 10 tomans will have 20 tomans that year.[2] The *madad-i maʿāsh*, "aid for sustenance,"[3] in the case of the Ṣadr-i aʿẓam (§17) reached the enormous sum of 1360 tomans (cf. also §108: 300 tomans). Another variety of *madad* was *madad-i kharj*, f. 130a. The *muqarrarī* which is quoted (ff. 86a, 130a), together with *madad-i maʿāsh*, etc., must have been also a kind of subvention (but on f. 18a *muqarrarī* is used in a different sense). The *vaẓīfa* (f. 130a) was apparently a charitable or compassionate allowance, which in Indian practice was paid in cash; Moreland, 278.

Various officials had special perquisites belonging to their offices. Thus the Grand Vazir (§86) had a *ḥaqq al-vizāra*, as the "perquisite" of his office; the Nāẓir-i buyūtāt (§95) a *ḥaqq al-naẓāra*; the Ṣadr and the Qurchi-bashi (§86–§87)

1 Such was also the Indian use of the term; Moreland, 93.

2 At this place Du Mans may have in view only the lower staff.

3 As regards the Indian usage, see M. Sadiq khan, *A Study in Mughal Land Revenue System, Isl. Cult.*, XII/1, 1938, 61–75: "another particular class of rent-free landholdings solely granted for the payment of religious endowments was known variously as *madad-i maʿāsh* or *milk*."

a *ḥaqq al-tauliya*, "perquisite of management"; the ʿĀmils (§98, etc.) a *ḥaqq al-saʿy*, "perquisite of exertion." On *marsūm* v.i., note 5, and p. 175 note 2.

The name of the *rusūm-i maḥallī* would suggest that they should come under the paragraph on fees, but as our source evaluates this special kind of fees in lump sums, cf. §103, §113–§118 (cf. f. 93a) and §125, it appears that these levies, assigned on some particular district or town, formed a regular addition to the pay of the officials mentioned.

We now come to the complicated system of paying the salaries.

Chardin, V, 415, compares the Shah's Treasury to an abyss (v.s., p. 29): "au lieu de payer en argent,[1] le roi paie en assignations sur provinces." This passage cannot be interpreted too literally. Some salaries were certainly paid in cash, as confirmed by §95: "salary and allowance paid to the soldiers in cash (*naqd*)" cf. §139.[2] More ambiguous is the meaning of the term *tankhwāh*, which on f. 26b clearly stands for "cash" (cf. ff. 11b, 19a, 40a, 93a, and perhaps 98a), but often refers to the whole of the emoluments (ff. 12b, 15b, 19a) or to the produce of yak-sāla, hama-sāla and drafts. In such cases we render *tankhwāh* by "sum, amount," in order to avoid too much precision, e.g. *t.-i mavājib* (§114), "the amount of salary," *t.-i umarā* (§125), "the amount [paid] to the amirs."[3]

It is true, however, that in the majority of cases the salaries and allowances were paid in assignments.

The highest kind of the latter were the *soyūrghāl*, of which we spoke above, p. 27. The beneficiary acquired the right to collect the government dues from the lands assigned to him and practically became their hereditary holder.

The usual and favourite system of assignments was called *tiyūl*[4] The grantees, so long as they held a definite office (cf. §88, §89), or were in possession of a special document, collected the government dues from the districts and lands assigned to them, cf. above, p. 30.

A great advantage connected with tiyūls (v.s., p. 32) was that the official evaluation of the revenue was considerably lower than its real amount. In §92 and §93 the tiyūls nominally worth 80 and 15 tomans were estimated (*barāvardī*) as bringing to their beneficiaries correspondingly 127½ and 92⅓ tomans. Chardin, V, 417, heard that in some cases the income was 50 times higher than the nominal sum. Kaempfer, 97, records as a particular feature of the tiyūl that the assigned villages bring to the grantee a profit higher than his salary ("usum fructum stipendio maiorem"), namely, double in the majority of places, but fivefold near Isfahan,

1 Kaempfer, 98, speaking of the Government officials, says: Inter hos pauci sunt qui a provinciarum Directore aliquo, rarissimi qui ex Regio aerario mercedem ["cash"] nonnumquam accipiant. However, Chardin, VII, 332, admits that workmen of the Buyūtāt, instead of victuals (*jīra*, "keep"), could receive their value in cash.

2 Cf. also §95 and §127: *marsūm*, payable in cash.

3 In Indian practice, *tankhwāh* was "an assignment of lands, or order on the Treasury for the payment of a stipend, salary, etc.," but Indian interpretation of terms hardly ever applies to Persia.

4 Usual Persian pronunciation *toyūl*.

sixfold near Kāshān and Shīrāz and, in some places, eightfold.

Less profitable were payments in *barāt*: the payee received from the Government a draft on a source of income or on some debtor of the Treasury and he collected the amount either personally or through an agent. The better class of barāts were the *hama-sāla*, i.e. annuities assigned on the same source or person.[1] Much less convenient were the *yak-sāla* granted only for the given year, Chardin, V, 420. The payee had great difficulties when his barāts were drawn on several scattered places and Shāh ʿAbbās II sought to obviate this embarrassment by ordering that this practice should be admitted only in cases when the claims were above 55 tomans, *ibid.*, 422. The collection of money, especially in the case of smaller sums, was done through special delegates who charged 5 per cent. on the sums collected in Isfahan, and 10 per cent. on those collected at a distance exceeding one day's journey.

Allowances in kind were regarded either as a substitute for a part of the salary or as an addition to the latter.

Several times payments in *ajnās-i barātī* are referred to in our text (ff. 89b, 98a, 98b),[2] especially in the case of soldiers (f. 98b). We must take it then that a part of the salaries was paid in bonds on goods (grain, cloth?) forming part of the Government supplies.[3]

We hear that the Grand Vazir (f. 85b) had an annual grant in kind to the amount of 3 t. 8500 d. (?); that the Ṣāḥib-jamʿ of the qahva-khāna had a grant of 2000 maunds of wheat in shāh-weight (f. 106b); that the Ṣāḥib-jamʿs of the Treasury and the Farrāsh-khāna, in company with their colleagues, levied ½₀ on the salaries in kind (*jinsī-ki ba-mavājib dihand*, ff. 100b and 102b); that the Mushrif of the Ḥavīj-khāna (§132) had a daily *jīra* ("keep") of two plates of food and of 12 breads of two different kinds (cf. also §133) and that the gardeners and the day labourers had also some *jīra* (f. 84b), etc.

Du Mans, 26, describes the *jīra* in more detail,[4] saying that some officers had their keep in addition to their pay ("leur vivre outre leur paye"); they were given raw and cooked food which they could carry home if they chose. The *jīra* contained a plateful (or sometimes half a plateful, or a quarter) of bread, meat, rice, spices, butter, pepper, wood [*bois*, perhaps: **pois*, "peas"], onions and salt. The amount of a plateful was precisely known: so much of everything to prepare a pilau (in Persian: *polóu*). In connection with the annual tribute in kind (*bārkhāna*)

1 Kaempfer's interpretation of the *hama-sāla* is different. He says, 97, that it consists in assignments on villages which, contrary to the tiyūl, bring to the grantee an income equal to his salary, "qui proventum suo hospiti saltern reddunt salario aequalem" (?). He distinguishes *hama-sāla* from *barāt*.

2 F. 16a: *ajnās-i hama-sālajāt*.

3 In general, payment in goods was practised by the Shah on a large scale. Chardin, V, 414, says: "les marchandises qu'on offre le plus communément sont les turquoises, de la soie, des brocards d'or, des tapis d'or et de soie, du lapis lazuli. Le roi a de pleins magasins de tout cela; car, comme il n'afferme point ses biens, et qu'il fait travailler la soie qu'il reçoit pour son droit, ses magasins regorgent toujours de telles nippes."

4 Cf. Chardin, VII, 332.

which the Governors sent to the Court, Chardin, V, 395, remarks: "la maison du roi en est entretenue, et toute cette foule d'artisans à qui l'on donne la nourriture en espèce."

(b) Rates of Salaries

As our source does not indicate what sums the fees (v.i., p. 174) produced in each case, we can only compare the amounts of fixed salaries. We shall, consequently, enumerate the more typical annual salaries,[1] dividing them into three categories:

(a) high: above 500 tomans.
(b) middling: from 100 to 500 tomans.
(c) low: under 100 tomans.[2]

Chardin and Kaempfer speak of the amount of salaries in very rare cases and, for comparison's sake, we have only the data of Du Mans, 14–26. The Capuchin author, with some contempt for matters of this world, uses the Persian verb "to eat" (*khurdan*) in connection with the emoluments of the dignitaries, e.g. "sept ou huit cents tomans mange cet office."

§§	*T.M.*		Du Mans
	First Category:		
6	Grand Vazir	823[3]	1000 (?)
7	Qurchi bashi	1491	1000–1500
2	Ṣadr-i aʿẓam	1360	
13	Amīr-shikār	1050	500–600
10	Tufangchi-bashi	711	1000
13	Rikābdār (Mihtar)	539	?
12	Dīvān-begi	500	3000–4000
14	Tupchi-bashi	500	2000
8	Qullar-aqasi	?	1000–1500
	Second Category:		
20	Ḥakīm-bashi	400	1000[4]
11	Nāẓir-i buyūtāt	360	3000–4000[5]
13	Majlis-nivīs	330	1000
100	Tushmāl-bashi	315	200
18	Mustaufī al-mamālik	302	600
78	Muḥtasib al-mamālik	303	

1 The author used different sources for the salaries and fees of the same officials, in the text (§24, §25, §26, §27) and in the chapter on salaries (§98, §99, §101, §102).

2 Some idea of the parity of Persian money is given by the following quotations. According to Sir T. Herbert, 1 toman = £3 6s. 8d.; according to della Valle, 768, it was equal to 10 sequins; Chardin reckons 1 t. = 455 livres tournois = 15 écus. Hodivala, *Historical Studies*, 197, takes for the seventeenth century 1 t. = 30 rupees, quoted by Vasmer, *Islamica*, VI, 1934, 138. See also the tables of parity in special dictionaries such as M. Postlethwayt, *The Universal Dictionary of Commerce*, 1774, (quoting Sir I. Newton's *Table of Assays*, etc.), *Encyclopédie méthodologique*, vol. III , 1794, etc., and now the table of coinages in *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, II, 773–7.

3 He had no definite salary and this sum represents only a part of his emoluments.

4 Chardin, V, 168: all the doctors 55.555 t.

5 Perhaps 300–400?

§§	*T.M.*		Du Mans
77	Dārūgha of Isfahan	300	
28	Eshik-aqasi of the Harem	300	
53	Nāẓir-i daftar	225	200
15	Amīrākhor-i jilau	182	700–800[1]
23	Munshi al-mamālik	153	
96	Nāẓir-i davābb	150	
16	Amīrākhor-i ṣaḥrā	127	
117	Avārija-nivīs of Fārs	118	
	Third Category:[2]		
150	Ṣāḥib-jam‘ of the Shīra-khāna	100	200
39	Ṣāḥib-jam‘ of the Ābdār-khāna	87	
111	Vazīrs	100–50	
65	Ḍābiṭa-nivīs	89	
115	Avāraja-nivīs of ʿIrāq	69	
143	Ṣāḥib-jam‘ of the Saddlery	60	
158	Ṣāḥib-jam‘ of the Library	50	
143	Ṣāḥib-jam‘ of the Tailoring Dt.	40	
162	Ṣāḥib-jam‘ of the Painting Dt.	30	
146	Ṣāḥib-jam‘ of the Fruit Dt.	20	
160	Ṣāḥib-jam‘ of the Stables	12	
145	Ṣāḥib-jam‘ of the Butchery	8	

In spite of some obscurities, the data of our source are very valuable. In the absence of official documents, the European authors could give only very approximate estimates, except in-the case of lower ranks where they had to deal with a large number of persons uniformly paid.

Table III estimates the general total of the cost of administration and army at 491.986 t. 5700 d., out of which 396.792 t. went to the "amirs and governors" Technically speaking the "amīrs" of the central administration were those enumerated in our §6–§18, whose fixed emoluments were *circa* 6047 t. If for simplicity's sake we count as "amīrs" all the officials enumerated in our text, the total will rise to 11.683 t. 4245½ d. Together with the Governors' emoluments (Table II), the sum will be

11.683	4245½
301.532	4097⅔
313.213	8343⅙

This still leaves a wide margin (viz. 83,577 tom.) to the total of Table III, but we must remember the lacunae in our lists. In any case the items given in Table III are more reliable as emanating from the author himself. (V.i., p. 182.)

The *T.M.* gives only the general expense for the principal corps of troops, namely (f. 128b):

1 Chardin: 50.000 écus = 3333 t. (?).

2 Kaempfer, 133, speaking of the Buyūtāt, says: "Pensiones annuae quibus gaudent Directores, secundum praefecturae gravitatem et dignitatem différant. Quibus *Taḥvīl-dār, seu ut aliter vocantur *Ṣāḥib-jam‘, i.e. liberi directoris et dispensatoris facultas collata est, 20 tomani, 30 aliis, aliis 40 tributi sunt. Magistro autem obscurioris officinae … 10–15 tomani persolvuntur."

Artillery men	1.942	tomans
Qurchis	25.572	tomans
Ghulams	18.261	tomans
Tufangchis	21.960	tomans
	67.175	tomans

On the whole the expense for the regular army was conspicuously small, being slightly over 10 per cent. of the general expenditure. As the contingents were constantly changing, and as the proportion of officers of various ranks is unknown, we cannot further analyse the totals. Du Mans, 25, obviously exaggerates in saying that a *min-bashi*, "commander of a thousand," had 400–500 t. and a *yuz-bashi* "centurion" 100 t., but he is more accurate in his evaluation of the pay of a simple *qizil-bash* at 7–12 t.[1] According to Chardin, V, 316, the future soldiers were put on the rolls at the age of two, with a salary of half-a-toman per annum. The soldiers spent their time at their homes and their pay was only a subsidy to their needs. The troopers received about 400 livres (9 tomans), while they spent the double of this sum on clothing alone. In another place, V, 427, Chardin puts the pay of a soldier at 250 francs (*circa* 5 ½ t.), and that of a non-commissioned officer ("bas officiers") at 300–400 francs (*circa* 7–9 t.). Even of these sums about a quarter went to the intermediaries who advanced money in exchange for the cheques in possession of the military. On f. 98a reference is made to "assigned goods forming the soldiers' pay," which has to be interpreted in the sense that a part (?) of the soldiers' pay was in kind and that it was assigned on some places where the commodities (grain, clothing?) were stored or produced.

(c) Fees

Another category of emoluments of officials were the fees levied on various kinds of revenue, expenditure and salaries. Our source calls them *rusūm*, "customary levies, perquisites."[2]

The fees were of two kinds: those divided between several departments and those purely departmental, but one cannot trace this division systematically.

According to Chardin, V, 430, one had to pay a 10 per cent. duty on anything which one received from the Treasury; hardly ever did the King command the payee to be exempted from this tax, but sometimes only 5 per cent, were collected. One finds no trace of this general rule in our text, unless it is covered by some of the special cases which we are going to describe.

The strangest fees were those collected on the presents (*pīshkash*) offered to the King and the grants (*inʿām*) given by the King. The duty of the Pīshkash-nivīs (§124) was to register in a special book all the offerings brought to the court,[3] to

1 In della Valle's time, p. 768, a trooper received yearly "no less than 5 tomans, equal to 50 sequins," which enabled him to exist comfortably.

2 This term must be distinguished from *marsūm* payable in cash (ff. 89a, 97b and 129b).

3 Chardin, v, 376: there was no appeal against the value registered and, in case of underestimate, one had to pay the difference. On the persons exempted from the payment of such duties see f. 88a. [On the Pīshkash-nivīs, see f. 14b.]

estimate their price, and to lead those who carried them, to the King's presence. The donor had then to pay an additional sum of money evaluated as a percentage on the price of his gift. In our source the amount of this fee is evaluated either at 10 per cent. (§89, §91, §120, §124) or at 5 per cent. (§95, §127, §139, §141–§143, §146, §150). The money collected was allotted in various proportions to definite classes of officials of the central administration.

Chardin has several pertinent passages on this curious habit and, in his evaluation, he must come near enough to the truth. He says, V, 359, that on the offerings to the King 11–18 per cent. were levied as fees, 10 per cent. going, to the Nāẓir and the rest to other officers.[1]

The estimate was usually accurately made, for the donors did not want to pay more fees than they could help and, on the other hand, they were loath to depreciate the value of their gifts.

Chardin, V, 360, found particularly distasteful the fees which the grantees had to pay on the presents which they received from the King. Only exceptionally was the payment of these duties remitted to some Europeans (cf. also f. 88a), but usually even the ambassadors had to comply with the custom. Our source (§91, §95, §127, §128, §139, §140, §142, §143, §147, §150, §153) sets at 10 per cent. the fees on the in'āms and robes of honour given by the King, but in practice they may have been heavier. Chardin, V, 406, considers the whole system of gifts as a kind of "tax on the wealthy" (taxe sur les aisés), by means of which the Shah extorted from the opulent governors, etc., the excess of their profits.

In case of official purchases, especially for the Royal Workshops, the bills were augmented by 5 per cent. and this additional charge was divided among the officers of the department in question, see §95, §96, §127–§128, §131-§135, §139, §147–§148, §150, §153–§154, §157, §162. Under §141 these fees are evaluated at 10 per cent. (?) and under §144 at 20 per cent. (?).

To the same category belong the fees on the "sendings" (*infādh*, usually spelt *infād*), i.e. on the goods acquired on the spot by government agents (vazīrs, 'āmils and *gäräk-yarāqs*). Under §95, §127–§129, §131, §135, §148, §157 the levy is put down at 1 per cent., under §145 and §147 at 2 per cent., under §144 at 4 per cent., and under §143 at 10 per cent. (?). Under §95 it is said that the fees were levied on the price, but it is not clear whether the "price paid" is meant, or whether the expression includes also the "market price" of the contributions collected in kind. A hint at the latter sense may be found in §127, where it is stated that the Mushrif of the Treasury had ½ per cent. on the produce of the Sha'r-bāf-khāna, which was a "Royal Workshop" and could hardly be said to sell its produce.

There existed various fees on salaries. Some higher officials had shares in the fees levied on the emoluments of large categories of public servants. Other fees

1 In III, 197, 221 (written earlier than the rest of the work) Chardin says: "ce droit est de 15 per cent, par constitution. Les abus qui s'y sont glissés l'ont fait monter à près de 25 per cent. Le grand-maître-d'hotel [Nāẓir] en prend dix, lesquels de droit il faudrait qu'il partageât avec ses yessaouls [?] … mais il ne leur en donne presque rien. Les autres 15 per cent. sont pour les intendans des galeries ou magasins où le présent est consigné."

were collected by the chiefs on their staff's salaries, etc. As regards the first class, of fees we find in our text references to fees collected

on the "cash paid to the amīrs, [muqarrabs and āqāyān]" (§85, §97–§98, §101, §105, §110, §114–§121, §125, §127);

on "the tiyūls and hama-sāla granted to the amīrs" (§85, §98–§99, §101–§102, §105, §107–§110, §113–§121, §125);

on the "sums payable in barāts" (§101–§102, §107, §109, §113);

on the "grants given to the amīrs and the persons not being on the staff [of the beneficiary in question]" (§85–§86, §97–§98, §101–§102, §105, §107, §109–§110, §113, §121, §125);

on the "soyūrghāls, muʿāfī, salaries, musallamī, iqṭāʿ and ḥaqq al-saʿy of the ʿāmils" (§85–§86, §97-§98, §101–§102, §113-§120, §125, cf. §99 and §107);

on the "leases, by way of *ḥaqq al-qarār*" (§86, §97, §101–§102, §105, §114–§121, §125–§126);

on the "assigned goods" (§127, §131), as well as on the "goods given as salary" 5 per cent. (§139, §142).

It is more difficult to extract from our vague text the data on the fees collected within the individual departments. It is quite definite that fees "from the subordinates" were levied in the four military departments (§88, §111 and §112?). Fees on soldiers' salaries and allowances are also referred to under §95, §114, though the Nāẓir-i Buyūtāt and the Ṣāḥib-taujīh had but an indirect connection with the army. ½₀ of the fee on the deliveries of the guilds (f. 99b) was for some obscure reasons paid to the Mushrif "of the Fruit Dt., Arsenal and Butcher's Dt." (§134).

It seems that the levies on the horses presented to, or given by the King, were appropriated solely by the two Amīrākhors (§91, §92) and their staffs, as we should also conclude from Chardin, V, 364, who evaluates at 50.000 écus (3333 tomans!) the income of the Amīrākhor: "le plus liquide de ces émoluments se tire du droit sur les présents de chevaux qu'on fait au roi, et de ceux que le roi fait, qui sont en grand nombre." One wonders whether the presents and grants referred to in §142–§148 were purely departmental or belonged to the general mass registered by the Pīshkash-nivīs.

As an equivalent of *rusūm*, the term *dūshulluk* (?) is used in §92 and §141 (fees on presents and grants). There existed a special Ḍābiṭ (§69) for the collection of the dūshulluk due to the Vakīl-i Dīvān-i Aʿlā. A more special use of dūshulluk is found on f. 42b, where it refers to the levy on salaries on the occasion of "first appointment to an office."

The term *dwsh.ll.k* **dūshulluk* (?) is attested in a *farmān* of Sulṭan Yaʿqūb Aq-qoyunlu of 893/1488, where two categories of it are mentioned: *ḥukmī* ("in virtue of a special order") and *istiṣvābī* ("appropriate to an office").[1] It is undoubtedly of Turkish origin but the etymology is not quite certain.[2]

1 See Minorsky, *A Soyūrghāl*, pp. 954–6.

2 *-luk* is the suffix of appurtenance. The first part of the word is apparently formed on the pattern of such words as *tiyūl* (v.s., p. 28) and *qaytūl*, "place for retreat > camp." **Dūshūl* (from

The *local* fees of which we spoke above, p. 171, must be distinguished from *special* fees and presents to which some officials were entitled in their capacity of protectors or managers of definite social groups.

The best example is the Amīr-shikār who received considerable sums from Gīlān and Shīrvān, connected, as it seems, with the local rights of hunting and fishing. But apart from these he had fees from butchers, keepers of pigeonries, etc. (f. 88b) as their *dārūgha* ("manager"). The *inʿām* (?) which the Armenians of Julfā paid to him was evidently presented on similar grounds.[1] Moreover, the Master of the Hunt had a lump sum from the prisoners kept in Isfahan. The Dārūgha of the Farrāsh-khāna (f. 91b) levied personally fees from the tailors, painters, etc. The Mashʿaldār-bāshī, v.s., p. 155, who was in charge of various kinds of entertainers, shared in their profits.

Some fees accompanied the performance of certain official formalities, such as the branding of camels (f. 87a), scrutiny of jewellery (f. 106a), or coins (f. 107a). The Dārūgha of Isfahan collected fines on offenders (f. 78b), the Dīvān-begi received a tithe of mulcts (f. 88b).

(d) Distribution of Fees

Our data on the distribution of "inter-departmental" fees are inadequate. For example, the produce of the levy "on the tiyūls of the amirs" was probably reckoned in tomans and the shares of the beneficiaries were expressed in "so many" dinars in the 10.000 dinars of which a toman is composed. As the total of the shares known to us amounts only to 1730 dinars, one has to imagine that the names of other beneficiaries have not been recorded in our source. However, mistakes in numbers are also frequent in our text. But even as it stands, our table sufficiently shows how numerous were the officials interested in the distribution, and how their shares reflected the degree of their comparative importance. The following table shows the number of dinars which single officers had in the sum collected on the tiyūls:

Vakīl-i dīvān-i aʿlā	357	Daftārdār-i ahkām	25
Grand Vazir	330	Lashkar-nivīs	25
Murdār-i muhr-i sharaf-i nafādh	315	Ḍābiṭa-nivīs	11 ¼
Muhrdār-i muhr-i humāyūn	260	Ṣāḥib-taujīh	11 ¼
Majlis-nivīs	200	5 avāraja-nivīs, each	11 ¼
Mustaufī al-mamālik	45	Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs	8
Mustaufī-yi khāṣṣa	45	Dārūgha-yi daftar	7 ½

dūsh-, "to fall, to come down") technically means "quartering, billeting," cf. *qonaq tūshūl* in the yarlīq of Timur Qutlugh, *Zap.V.O.*, III, 1888, p. 36. **Döshäl* would be connected with the verb *doshā*—"to spread carpets, etc." Would then our term refer to "something referring to billeting, or installation," or represent some fee for "treading on the carpet," comparable to the "denier à Dieu," which the French concierges exact from new tenants on their moving in?

1 The Armenians seem to have had several "protectors" of whom the mightiest was the Queen-mother, Chardin, X, 16, and especially *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, I, 464–5, 468, 476.

Davātdār-i arqām	43	Nāẓir-i daftar	7
Munshī-yi mamālik	25	Daftārdār	3 ¾

Of the fees divided in a single Dt., §139–§147, §150, §155 give a good idea. The shares represent the number of dinars per toman (= 10.000 dinars) or part of a toman, assigned to the department. In the Royal Treasury (§139) each toman of the tithe on grants, of the half-a-tithe on presents and of the half-a-tithe on the salary in kind were distributed as follows:

Ṣāḥib-jamʿ	3000
Mushrif	3000
Keeper of the Keys	2400
Mustaufī of the Keepers	1000
ʿazabs	*600
	10.000

In a workshop, the major part of the fees went to its own officers; the higher departmental officers had smaller portions, though the total was high enough for they collected them from each of the subordinate workshops. For the respective position of the Ṣāḥib-jamʿs and Mushrifs it is characteristic that the former had usually a double share in comparison with the latter. The half-a-tithe on purchases in the Treasury (§139) was distributed as follows (some mistake in figures!):

Ṣāḥib-jamʿ	5363⅓
Mushrif	2366⅔
Nāẓir-[i buyutāt]	1000
Mustaufī of the Keepers	1000
Total (wrong?)	9730

The tithe on purchases in the Farrāsh-khāna (§142):

Ṣāḥib-jamʿ	533⅓
Mushrif	266⅔
Nāẓir	100
Mustaufī of the Keepers	100
Total	1000

The tithe on the robes of honour in the Royal Tailoring Dt. (§141):

Ṣāḥib-jamʿ	399⅓
Mushrif	199⅔
Nāẓir	100
Mustaufī of the Keepers	90
Keeper of the Keys	33
ʿazabs	162⅓
Pīshkhidmat	25
Total (wrong?)	1009⅓

PART II

(A) Salaries and Troops of the Provincial Governors

(TABLE I)

Under some provinces (Tabriz, Chukhūr-i Saʿd, Qarābāgh), the enumeration of single governorships is preceded by the heading "beglarbegi of so-and-so and dependencies." As our author's habit is to give the total first, and then to enumerate the items composing it, we should think that the said heading sums up the emoluments of the beglarbegi himself and of his subordinate governors.

With regard to Chukhūr-i Saʿd this principle is confirmed by the facts. First comes the item "beglarbegi of Ch. and dependencies," then "beglarbegi" alone, then the governors:

Beglarbegi	20.539	0000
Governors	4.997	6326
Total calculated	25.536	6326
"Beglarbegi and dependencies"	25.910	6326

There is no doubt that the two totals, that calculated by ourselves, and that indicated in the text, ought to coincide, and that the difference of 374 t. is due either to some item left out under the governors, or to some mis-spelling of the numbers, v.i., p. 196.

Under Tabriz, the position is as follows:

Beglarbegi	2.337	8317
Governors	29.914	9804
Total calculated	32.252	8121
"Beglarbegi and dependencies"	34.234	4906 ½

Here the discrepancy is more considerable (being 1981 t. 6785½ d.), but the possibility of some error in the copying is not excluded. On the other hand, the beglarbegi's emoluments (2337 t. 8317 d.) are obviously too moderate and, even if we add to them the amount of the difference in our totals (= 4319 t. 5102½ d.), the sum still appears insufficient for such an important beglarbegi, as compared with his colleagues. We must suppose then that the beglarbegi had some other special sources of income, but the point remains suspect.

Under Qarābāgh, things are decidedly out of order,

"Beglarbegi and dependencies"	24.726	0978
"Beglarbegi of (?) the lords of Kakhetia"	28.614	9435
Various governors	16.172	0552

The last two items, totalling 44.786 t. 9987 d., by far exceed the indicated total. It is possible that in "28.614" the number of thousands (spelt out *bīst hazār*) has been repeated by mistake from the preceding line. If so, the sum

Beglarbegi … of Kakhetia	*8.614	9435
Various governors	16.172	0553
Total	32.252	9988

becomes comparable with the total indicated. In any case "the beglarbegi of the

lords of Kakhetia" makes no good sense, and we can suspect the scribe of some major mistake, v.i., p. 196.

Under Herat, the sum given under "beglarbegi of H. and dependencies," viz. 15.277 t. 6034 d. is slightly under the total of the emoluments of the 11 governors (15.611 t. 5066 d.). Consequently, the former can not represent a sum total for the whole of the Herat administration. The two sums quoted being too close to each other seem suspect,[1] but, as the things stand, we can only calculate the sum total for Herat as:

Beglarbegi	15.277	6034
Governors	15.611	5066
Total	30.889	1100

Under the rest of the provinces, the sums of *madākhīl* of the beglarbegis are mentioned separately, and the sum total must be obtained by calculation.

With regard to the number of service men, it appears that the totals, given either under "beglarbegi" or under "beglarbegi of so-and-so and dependencies," do not include the contingents of the governors. Consequently, even under Chukhūr-i-Saʿd, where some doubts might arise,[2] we have to come to the same conclusions.

After these explanations, we shall give the totals for the whole of the provincial administration, the sums in square brackets having been calculated by ourselves and *in.* standing for incomplete data.

	Madākhil		Men.
North-West			
Tabrīz	34.234	4906 ½	11.439
Chukhūr-i Saʿd	25.910	6326	4287
Qarābāgh	24.726	0978	6084
Shīrvän	57.577	0220	5856
	[142.448	2430 ½]	[27.666]
North-East			
Herat	30.889	1100	5462
Mashad	25.106	0218	5440
Qandahār (*in.*)	3.892	9226	1785
Marv (*in.*)	7.193	6140	2352
Sīstān (*in.*)	1.291	4980	1000
	[68.373	1664]	[16.039]
North			
Astarābād	12.891	2005	2453
Gīlān (*in.*)	12.306	2284	2525
	[25.197	4289]	[4.978]
South-East			
Kirmān (*in.*)	Blank		Blank

1 Even the corresponding numbers of service men, resp. 2682 and 2780 are not very different.

2 The respective totals being 2860 and 1427 men.

	Madākhil		Men.
Centre (ʿIrāq)			
Hamadān[1]	17.933	3970	2947
West			
Kurdistān, Luristān, etc. (*in.*)	8.233	0320	1811 (*in.*)
South			
Fārs	39.347	1434 ⅙	6055
ʿArabistān (*in.*)	Blank		Blank
Grand total	301.532	4109 ⅔	59.496[2]

We must not forget that several items in our table are blank, and, above all, that the remuneration of the authorities in the capital of Isfahan and its district (*maḥāll*) are treated separately. In the table of Expenditure (Table III) "amirs and governors" stand for 396.792 tomans. Considering the above mentioned blanks and the fact that the "amirs" are included in 396.7921., the divergence between the latter item and the calculated sum total of Table I, viz. 301,532 t. 4097 ⅔ d., is not incapable of being bridged over.[3]

C. Notes on Administrative Geography

Apart from the interest of its financial and military data, Part II of the Conclusion is important from a purely geographical point of view. There is no geography of Safavid times comparable to what the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* represents for the Mongol epoch,[4] and this lack of sure parallel texts renders difficult the identification of several districts and tribes.

The table purports to enumerate the "frontier governorships" but, even with this limitation, it is incomplete and does not entirely correspond to the list of beglarbegis of f. 7b. Its omissions very probably echo the gradual shrinking of the *mamālik* into which the *khāṣṣa* was making inroads, Chardin, V, 276–9. This would explain, e.g., the absence of details on Kerman, etc.

No central provinces administered from the capital are found in the list, but some details on them are found in Chapter V describing the administration of the central Maḥāll, in the occasional references to the tiyūls held by the "court amirs" (§§88, etc.) and in the list of "dioceses" under the Ṣadr-i Khāṣṣa (f. 4a). On

1 The important region of Isfahan is left out.

2 Chardin's approximate numbers of provincial troops (v, 323), are hardly comparable with ours :—

Kermānshāh	6000
Armenia (Chukhūr-i Saʿd?)	5000
Georgia	5000
Khorasan	8000
Qandahār	8000

3 The amīrs of §6–§18, as far as it is possible to calculate, stand for 6047 t. (V.s., p. 174.)

4 Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī in his *Haft-iqlīm* (completed in 1002/1594) takes geography only as a pretext for his biographic notices of saintly persons; Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Yazdī's *Mukhtaṣar-i mufīd* (Br.Mus. 10.583) is a vague compilation without any sense of realities.

the whole the table of the *T.M.* contains some 140 geographical names of which at least 20 are names of tribes. Some 30 more place names are scattered in the text. It may be useful to add that according to Sir T. Herbert, who probably echoes some official tradition of ʿAbbās I's time, there were in Persia 90 walled towns and about 40,000 villages.

The list, which is more complete in the north than in the south, is instructive for the study of the frontiers of the Safavid state, but it is not easy to define the exact period to which it refers. It certainly has in view the time after ʿAbbās I's death, and more especially after the Turco-Persian settlement of Muharram 1049/17 May, 1639.[1] The fact that on f. 7b Qazvīn is called *dār al-salṭana* does not necessarily point to the period before the transfer of the capital to Isfahan (A.D. 1599), for Herat, Tabrīz, Isfahān and Qazvīn enjoyed the title of *dār al-salṭana,* "residential city," while the King's actual residence was called *maqarr al-salṭana*.

Under the Sasanians, the territory of Erān was divided into four *padhgos*, after the four cardinal points, viz. Khwarāsān (east), Abhākhtar (north), Khwarvarān (west) and Nemroz (south).[2] The existence of a central desert disuniting the Iranian provinces must have contributed to the survival of this geographical idea. Minadoi, 48, surveys the four sides of Persia, and Kaempfer, 134, believes that ʿAbbās I had divided his kingdom into five parts. In fact, these were the old divisions plus the central province of ʿIrāq with the new capital of Isfahan (since 1007/1599). With regard to taxation, Chardin, V, 439, confirms that Persia is divided into four "departements": ʿIrāq, Fars, Azarbayjan and Khorasan. In the *T.M.*, the same divisions came under the special purview of the four *avāraja-nivīses* (§115–§118),[3] and we have an indirect indication that the North was represented by their colleague of Gilan (92b).

A slightly modified idea must underlie the list of governorships in the *T.M.*:

A. North-West: Āzarbāyjān and Transcaucasia.
B. East: Khorāsān in the large sense.
C. North: Caspian provinces.
D. South-East: Kirmān (left in blank)
E. Centre: ʿIrāq.
F. West: Kurdistān and Luristān.
G. South and South-West: Fārs and Khūzistān.

Of these, A, B and C stand respectively for West, East and North; D and G represent the South, Kirman (left blank) being mentioned separately only for its special administrative position with regard to the Khāṣṣa. Kurdistān and Luristān

1 The original text of the treaty is lost, its fullest resumé being found in the Ottoman historian Naʿīmā, I, 686 (Russian translation in *Chirikov, Putevoy zhurnal*, SPb. 1875, pp. 649–51), and in the Persian historian Muḥammad Yūsuf's *Khuld-i barīn*, ed. Suhaylī Khwānsārī, pp. 220–7 (Persian and Turkish texts). *Grosso modo* the situation created by the treaty formed the basis of the Turco-Persian delimitation of 1913–4, with which I was closely associated in a previous avatar of mine.

2 See Marquart, Ērānšahr, 16, 94, and Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sasanides*, 347.

3 The *a.n.* of Isfahan acting for ʿIraq.

(F), both being under their vālīs, ought not to figure in the table of governorships, and the fact that they are mentioned seems to point to that later stage when the Safavids began to curtail the rights of the hereditary chiefs. Consequently the fourfold, later fivefold, structure of Persia is not wholly obliterated in our table.

As suggested above, many lacunae in Part II are due to the fact that the localities omitted had been taken over by the khāṣṣa administration: Yazd, Sāva, Māzandarān and many districts of ʿIrāq. Some overlapping of spheres, as in the neighbourhood of Astarābād (Girāylī, Hājjīlar, f. 4b and f. 118b), may indicate that the process of change was not yet completed.[1]

In all, our source (f. 7b) counts four vālīs and 13 beglarbegis. The latter designation seems to have been introduced under ʿAbbās I for, under Tahmāsp, the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 100, refers to the governors simply as hākim. According to Alessandri, 226, Persia was divided into 50 parts, each under a *sulṭān*.

The territories under the vālīs (ʿArabistān, Luristān, Georgia and Kurdistān) are excluded from the statistics of Part II, which suggests that financially they were independent from the central authority. Kaempfer calls the vālīs "reguli," Some confusion under Qarābāgh (f. 111b) may indicate that the eastern part of Georgia (Kakhetia) was gradually encroached upon by Persian administration. In Kurdistān too (f. 121a) a "beglarbegi" is mentioned instead of the vālī one would expect.

The 13 beglarbegis enumerated on f. 8b were: in the north-west: Āzarbāyjān (= Tabrīz), Chukhūr-i Saʿd, Qarābāgh-and-Ganja, Shīrvān; in the north: Astarābād; in the east: Mashhad, Marv, Herat, Qandahār; in the south: Kirmān, Kūh-Gīlūya; in the centre: Qazvīn, Qalam-rau-i ʿAl-Shakar (= Hamadān). Here again a comparison with ff. 107b–123a brings to light some changes, for Qazvīn is omitted in Part II,[2] and Kirmān is left blank.

In conclusion, we shall quote the list of provincial divisions by Father Sanson, which contains some hints not recorded in more official sources. The French traveller, *o.c.*, 43, counts ten[3] Valis, those of Georgia, Luristān, Ḥavīza (= ʿArabistān), Bakhtiyārī, Zaytūn[4]-Ardalan (= Kurdistān), Māzandarān, "Charkaz,"[5] Herat, Qandahār and Kirmān. He adds, however, that the "vālī" of Kirmān was replaced by a beglarbegi and that the same degradation was threatening Luristān. One

1 The list on f. 4a seems more up to date than the enumeration in Part II.

2 In 1674 Chardin, II, 401, found in Qazvīn only a *dārūgha* with a salary of 600 tomans.

3 Some of the beglarbegis may have been called *vālī honoris causa*. Such was the case of the governor of Sīstān, Chardin, V, 257, cf. p. 113, note 2.

4 Perhaps a mis-spelling of Senne (Senandej), cf. f. 7b.

5 Probably the Shamkhāl of Tarki, for in Persian parlance anything south of Darband is *Lazgī*, and anything north of it, *Chārkās*. Shah Tahmāsp was married to the Shamkhāl's daughter. Shah Sulaymān was the son of a "Chärkäs" slave girl. One of Shah Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's grand Vazirs was Fatḥ-ʿAlī khan Dāghestānī b. Alqāṣ-mīrza (*sic*) b. Ildirim-khan Shamkhāl, see Riḍaquli khan, *Rauḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣiri*. Kaempfer, 139, also refers to the Shamkhāl: speaking of the valis of Georgia, Arabistan and Luristan, he says "quibus honoris gratia adnumeratur Waali Dagestaan."

of the prerogatives of the vālīs[1] was to have a band consisting of *katanā*, "long straight trumpets," up to 12 in number, playing at sun-set and two hours after midnight, while the ordinary governors had to content themselves with drums, kettle-drums and oboes (*surnā*?).[2] The "khan-beglarbegis" were those of Tabrīz, Kors (Chors? Qars never belonged to Persia), Ardabīl, Lār, Mashhad, Astarābād, Kermānshāh, Hamadān, Shūshtar, Kangia (*Ganja), Shamākhī (= Shirvān), Erivān (= Chukhūr-i Saʿd). The khans who were governors only of a town or a district were called "Colbeguis (*qol-begi*), c.-à-d. Kans de bras ou d'appui." There were two vazīrs ("vicerois"): in Shiraz and in Rasht,[3] and two sulṭans: in Sulṭāniye (under Tabrīz) and in "Ourigueгd,"[4] i.e. Burūjird (under Khurramābād).

A.

The list starts in the north-west with the enumeration of the four governor-generalships, those of Tabrīz, Chukhūr-i Saʿd, Qarābāgh and Shīrvān. The term **Āzarbayjān** which stands before this enumeration refers perhaps to the whole of the four provinces, similarly to the "Khorasan" in the north-east, although such an abusive use[5] of the term would be incorrect and not supported by geographical works. In fact, the province of the governor-general of Tabriz alone covered most of the historical Āzarbayjān.

I. Under the *BEGLARBEGI OF TABRIZ* were the following districts, enumerated in a haphazard manner:

Astarā on the Caspian, along the present-day frontier of Iran and the U.S.S.R.

Marāgha and the Muqaddam tribe, see *E.I.* To the south-east of Marāgha, our text mentions Angūr, i.e. Angūrān, lying in the basin of the Qīzīl-özän, and for administrative purposes belonging to Zanjān, see *E.I.*

The Afshār tribe was scattered all through Persia (v.i., Kūh-Gīlū), but here our text refers to the part settled along the southern shores of the Urmiya lake, in the first place near Urmiya (see *E.I.*), cf. f. 91a, and also south of Marāgha, where Nadir-shah in 1730 was glad to find the "home" of his own tribe.

Qarāja-dāgh is the hilly tract of land along the southern bank of the Araxes, to the north-east of Tabriz, see *Urm*, in *E.I.*, Separately quoted is Vargahān, one of the districts of Qaraja-dagh, the other six being Arvandil, Dizmār, Ḥasan-ābād, Ahar, Digla and Yāft.

Chors, on the left affluent of the Qotur river, to the north of Khoy (ancient

1 A later report attributes to each of the four vālīs special duties at the Shah's coronation.

2 Enumerating the amīrs of Shah Tahmāsp the *ʿĀlam-ārā* says, 104, that most of them were *ṣāḥib ṭabl-u ʿalam-u khayl-u ḥasham*.

3 These were the representatives of the Royal Khāṣṣa.

4 The form *Urīgerd* is interesting for Sanson must have picked it up on the spot, *ibid.*, 218–22. Cf. *Ẓafar-nāma*, I, 586, 594, 812: *Vurūjird*, Herzfeld thinks that the original form was Orodh-kard ("Orodes fecit"), cf. **Orudicaria*, in *Tabula Peutingeriana*, XII, 2.

5 As an example of such special terminology may be mentioned that Zanjān and Sulṭāniya are placed under Tabriz.

Armenian *Chvash-irot*). In 1904 I saw traces of important fortifications in Chors.

Gāvr.d—unknown. Gāvarūd in Kurdistan cannot be meant here. A district called Gāvdūl is mentioned in the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, pp. 573, 575, among the dependencies of Marāgha, cf. Nuzhat al-qulūb, p. 87. It is the district having Malik-kandi for its centre.

Qapānāt—from the Armenian *kapan*, "a defile" north of Ordūbād, on the northern bank of the Araxes, cf. f. 91a. One would expect it to come under II (v.i.).

The tribe Adarbā (?), perhaps Āzarbāyjān, is too vague for identification.

Hashtarūd lies on the north-eastern slopes of the Sahand mountain; the Ṭabṭāb tribe does not seem to be known any more. *Ṭabṭāb* (in Syriac, Arabic and Persian) means "a (broad) polo-stick"; Dozy, *Supp.*, II, 21. The *Qābūs-nāma*, ed. 1312/1933, p. 95, uses in Persian the form *ṭābṭāb*.

M.d.k (?), coming as it does before Lāhījān and maintaining a considerable number of troops, may be restored as *Mukrī*. The latter's absence in the list would be unexpected. Cf. Minorsky, *Sāʾūdj-bulak* in *E.I.*

Lāhījān, at this place, is the district on the Turco-Persian frontier, south of Ushnū.

The Dunbulī tribe, of Kurdish origin but Turkicized, was in possession of Khoy, see *Sharaf-nama*, pp. 310–7. Khoy is mentioned on f. 91a.

Ūjarūd lies to the west of Russian Tālish and is watered by the rivers Barzand and Balharū.

Abdāllū is probably a better reading then ʿAbdallū, in the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 762. The tribe was a subdivision of the Shāmlū.

Sarād (*Sarāt* of Arab geographers) is a small district between Tabrīz and Ardabīl, cf. f. 91a.

The Shaqāqī tribe, probably of Kurdish origin, but Turkicized, was scattered in the region between Mughān and Sarāb, see *Shaḳāḳī* in *E.I.*

Zunūz lies in the mountains on a northern branch of the Marand river, cf. f. 91a. *Qarnï-yarïq, "with split belly," may refer to some mountain stronghold in the neighbourhood (?). Homonymous places are found on the southern side of Salmās and south of Mount Ararat.

Mishkīn—to the north-west both of Mount Savalān, and of Ardabīl.

Mughānāt—the region along the lower course of the Araxes, see *Mūḳān* in *E.I.* (and also in the Supplement to *E.I.*), cf. f. 91a.

P.sh.k? Perhaps *Paswē*, a small but ancient fort to the south of the Urmiya lake, between Sāʾūj-bulāq and Ushnū, cf. Yāqūt, I, 626: *Basway* → *Baswē*.

The Lak of Salmas are a southern Kurdish tribe, settled in the district of Salmās, see *E.I.*

Qarā-aghāj [of Tālish?]. A village of this name lies on the upper course of the Gök-täpä river flowing through Prishib, in the northern part of Russian Tālish.

The Ināllū, "shāhī-seväns" still exist in the region of Sāva, see *E.I.* whither they may have been transferred from the neighbourhood of Mughān and Ardabïl.

They are a part of the Turcoman tribe scattered throughout Persia and Turkey and usually coupled with the Afshārs, cf. *Anadoluda Türk ashiretleri*, Istanbul, 1930, pp. 100, 182. Ināllū are one of the five component parts of the Khamsa federation of Fārs (where their name is pronounced Inānlū and even Aynānlū, see Tumansky, *Ot Kaspiyskago morya*, SPb., 1896, p. 78). A subdivision of the Inānlū is called Afshār-ushaghī, Masʿūd-Geyhān, *Joghrāfiyā-yi mufaṣṣal-i Īrān*, II, 82.

Sulṭāniya and Zanjān, properly speaking, lie outside Āzarbāyjān, cf. Minorsky, *sub verbis* in *E.I.*, but Sanson also places Zanjān under Tabriz. To Zanjān belongs the district of Angūr (Angūrān), on a tributary of the Qïzïl-özän, east of Sāʿin-qalʿa-yi Afshār, v.s., 164.

II. *CHUKHŪR-I SAʿD* is a later geographical term, first attested in Ṣafavid times[1] and referring chiefly to the province of Erivan, cf. f. 91a, but the enumeration of its dependencies shows that the term had a wider range. According to the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 168, Qārs lies between Chukhūr-i saʿd and Erzerum; *ibid.*, 558: Chukhūr-i saʿd neighbours on Akhiskha (Akhal-tsikhe). *Chukhūr* in Turkish means "a depression in the ground," and here evidently refers to the lowlands of the two banks of the Araxes, the Ἀραξηνόυ πεδίον of Strabo, XI, 527 and 531.

Nakhchevān—on the left bank of the Araxes, see *E.I.* Opposite Nakhchevān (on the right bank?) lay the fortress of ʿAbbāsābād, f. 91a, ceded to Russia in 1828 and later exchanged by Russia for Fīrūza on the Transcaspian frontier, v.i., Fārūz.

Mākū, on the right bank, to the south-west of Nakhchevān, and to the south-east of Mount Ararat, see *E.I.*

Zārūzbīl (?). A village Zarzibil exists in the south-eastern corner of the Gökchä (Sevan) lake.

Ṣadarak, in the district of Sharūr, halfway between Erivan and Nakhchevān.

Bāyazīd, in Turkey, south of Mount Ararat.

Shādīlū, a Kurdish tribe, near Mount Ararat.

Dunbulī kurds may be the part of the tribe (p. 186), which had escaped Turkicisation.

Maghāzberd, a fortress on the western Arpa-chay, near the ruins of Ani, the farthest north-western point of Persian territory mentioned in the Turco-Persian treaty of a.d. 1639.

III. *QARĀ-BĀGH* is a term first appearing in the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, and perhaps connected with some Turkish tribe now extinct.[2] Qarā-bāgh, with its capital Shusha, lies between the Kur and the Araxes (ancient Arrān). On f. 7b Qarābāgh is coupled with Ganja which lies to the south of the Kur upstream from the Qarābāgh proper. Since the time of Tahmāsp-shāh, the government of Ganja and Qarābāgh belonged to the family of Ziyād-oghlï Qājār, *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 456, and only after the death of Nādir (a.d. 1747) did these two places form separate principal-

1 Cf. *Mukhtaṣar-i Mufīd*, f. 149b.

2 See Qarā-bāghlar, north of Nakhichevān, Qarā-bāgh to the north of Urmiya, Qarā-bāgh west of Ghaznī in Afghanistan, *arāḍī-yi Qarā-bāgh* near Karmīna, see *I z arkhiva sheykhov Jūybārī*, Leningrad, 1938, p. 458.

ities. On f. 111b Ganja is not mentioned, but KAKHETIA, lying on the northern affluents of the Kur at a considerable distance to the north-east of Ganja, is somehow linked up with Qarābāgh. The easternmost Georgian kingdom of Kakhetia was devastated by Shah ʿAbbās I after 1616, and in 1623 the Persian commander massacred, "as though at a battue," the Kakhetian levies collected for an expedition, see *ʿĀlam-ārā*, pp. 635 and 719, and Minorsky, *Tiflis* in *E.I.* The Kakhetian king Theimuraz I went to KARTLIA (Tiflis) and reigned there A.D. 1629 by the Shah's governors: Salīm (1657–9), Murtadā-ʿAlī (1659–64), Bejan (1677–9), Khānī (1683–88), ʿAbbās-quli (1688–95) and Kalb-ʿAlī (1695–1703), whom the Georgian tradition calls "khans," see Vakhusht, *Geography of Georgia*, Russian translation by Janashvili, note 384. Our obscure item seems to suggest that some sort of connection was established between these khans and the beglarbegi of Qarābāgh.[1]

ZAGAM lay in the northern part of Kakhetia, namely, in the present-day Zakatali district, where the maps still show a Zagam (circa 25 km. to the south of Zakatali).[2] This is supported by the account of the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, pp. 634 and 643. During his expedition of 1025/1696, Shah ʿAbbās, coming from Tiflis, crossed the Qanuq (Alazan) to its northern side where the Kakhetians sought refuge. The governor of Shirvan, who was closing in from the east, and who evidently followed the high road through Shekki, laid waste Zagam. Further, it is stated that the inhabitants of Zagam for fear of incursions from Daghestan, preferred to be moved to Māzandarān. This also points to Zakatali which was quite particularly exposed to Lezgian lawlessness.

BARDAʿ, ancient Armenian *Partav*, on the Terter river, north of Shusha and east of Ganja, cf. f. 91a.

*AKHTĀBĀD (without dots) is found in the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, p. 635, on Shah ʿAbbās I's route from Tiflis to the lake of Gökchä. Presumably it is Armenian *Akhpat* in the Borchalu gorge, downstream from Pambak.

JAVĀNSHĪR, on the upper course of the Terter. On f. 91a Javānshīr is coupled with *Otuz-iki*, "the Thirty-Two [clans]," which is a well-known group of Turcoman tribes. When in 1013/1604 Amīr-Gūna crossed the Araxes by the bridge of Khudāfarīn, many of "the tribes (*īl-va-oymāq*) of Qājār and Turcomans (*tarakamāt*) of Otuz-iki, etc., of Qarābāgh became shāhī-sevān," *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 456. Traces of Otuz-iki are still found in the toponymy of the Javād district on the lower Araxes. The opposite number of the *Otuz-iki* were the *Yigirmi-dört*, i.e., the

1 Our source refers to the kings of western Georgia (Kartlia) only in the enumeration of the vālīs, f. 7b. The fact that they are omitted in the present paragraph indicates that financially they were independent and outside the budgetary provisions. However, Alessandri, 228, estimates at 20,000 ducats the tribute which the prince of Georgia (probably David, son of Luarsab) sent yearly to Tahmāsp I. Petrus Bedik (1678) refers, p. 255, to the beglarbegi of Shamākhi (i.e. of Shīrvān, v.i.): "cui quasi subjungitur vice-rex Georgianorum Tifliz, qui regnum défendit ex Maris Nigri parte," but Bedik is an inaccurate source.

2 In Georgian sources Zagam is usually called "Bazar." The Russian ambassador Prince Mïshetsky who visited Kakhetia in 1640–3, refers to the place as lying quite close to the north-eastern limits of King Teymuraz's dominions. On his return route from Gremi, he stayed at the "bazar of Zagem," and after a day's march reached the frontier village of Kakh (I owe this reference to Z. D. Avalishvili).

Twenty-Four Kurdish tribes of Qarābāgh, *Sharaf-nama*, I, 323.

Bargushāt, a river flowing to the Araxes from the north (to the south of Garusi).

Qara-aghach, different from the homonymous place in Tālish (p. 186). There is a mountain and a village of Qara-aghach in eastern Kakhetia, to the south-east of Sighnakh, and to the south of the Alazan. Here in 1703–6 resided Īmān-quli (= David, son of Irakli I), king of Kakhetia, see Vakhusht, *Geography of Georgia*, translation by Janashvili, note 360.

Lori-pambak, to the south of the Somkhetian Mts., on the headwaters of the Borchalu (Debeda) river which joins the Kur from the south. With some difficulty, one may imagine that Pambak was an outlying dependency of Qarābāgh, but the following two items are obviously inserted in a wrong place.

Arasbār-bāyazīdlū. *Arasbār* means "the banks of the Araxes," Bāyazīdlū must refer to a tribe. The location of this item is uncertain: perhaps the reach of the Araxes where it flows past Igdir is meant here, but such a locality would naturally come under Chukhūr-i sa'd.

*Somāy-tergever ought to figure under Tabriz: Somāy, see Minorsky in *E.I.*, lies south-west of Salmās, and Tergever still further south, to the west of Urmiya.

IV. *SHĪRVĀN*, in the north-eastern part of Transcaucasia.

Sāliyān, near the delta of the Kur.

Qubba lies south of the Samūr, see *E.I.*, and Qulhān is its dependency.

Aresh-shekkī. The latter is an extensive region, to the south of the Caucasian mountains, adjoining Shirvan from the west. Aresh is the present-day Khānābād, on the road from Nūkhī to Barda', to the north of the Kur.

Darband was under the Ottomans from a.d. 1578 to 1606, when it was reoccupied by Shah 'Abbās I, who restored its walls, see Barthold, in *E .I.* The governor of Darband was sometimes given the title of vālī *honoris causa*, v.s., p. 184, note 5.

Alpā'ūt. There are several villages of this name in the south-west of Shamākhī and to the east of the Gök-chay (a left affluent of the Kur). The name must refer to a tribe, or rather to the ruling family of a tribe, but its original meaning in Mongol is "the chiefs subjects, estate owners."

Bādkūba, i.e. "wind-swept," is a popular etymology of Bākū.

Chamishgazak-aghdāsh. The latter place lies north of the Araxes on the road from Aresh (v.s.) to Gök-chay. Chamishgazak is the name of a Kurdish Shī'a tribe of Dersim (south of Erzinjān), of which some 1000 families had entered Persian service, see *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 163. Some of them were settled on the Khorāsān frontier. Those of Transcaucasia do not seem to have left any trace in the present-day toponymy.

B.

Khorāsān is also taken in a large sense of "eastern provinces" and divided into

four governor-generalships, those of Herat, Mashhad, Qandahār and Merv, with the addition of the governorship of Sīstān.[1]

I. The *HERAT* province comprised in the north all the southern part of the Murghāb basin: Bālā-Murghāb, Mā rūchāq, Panj-dih, Bādghīs (south of Kūshk); in the south Ghōr and Farāh belonged to it; in the west it extended to Turbat-[i shaykh-i jām?], Khwāf , and even Tūn (on the edge of the central Persian desert). *K.r.j* is a mis-spelling for *Karokh*, which lies to the north-east of Herat on the road to the Murghāb?),[2] *Dūvmī* (*Dūrmī?*) could not be located.[3]

II. The *MASHHAD* province comprised the more northerly part of the presentday Khorāsān: Sarakhs, Nīshāpūr, Sabzavār, Isfarāyīn, Āzādvār (8 farsakhs east of Jājarm), and more towards the south: Turbat[-i haydari] and Turshīz (to the west of the latter). Very interesting is the indication that the governor of Sabzavār (f. 116b) was the Vazir of the whole of Khorasan, which indicates that, parallel to the Divan administration, the Khāṣṣa was spreading its tentacles through Khorasan, cf. Chardin, V, 252, 381.

On the northern slope of the Kopet-dagh the following districts were under Mashhad: Abīvard (8 km. to the west of the Qahqa railway station), Nasā (near Bāgīr, west of ʿAshqābād) and Durūn (between ʿAshqābād and Qïzïl-Arvat). This region was evacuated by Persians after the death of Shah Ismāʿīl and occupied by the ruler of Khwārazm. Later the Persians re-established their authority over it, but in 1593 the Uzbegs of Bukhārā occupied it till 1598, when Shāh ʿAbbās reconquered the region down to Murghāb. In 1600 Abivard, Nasā, etc., were entrusted to a vassal ruler. In 1614 Russian ambassadors coming from Khwārazm mentioned Durūn as the first town in the Shāh's territory. After Shāh ʿAbbās the Persians could not control this zone, except in the time of Nādir-shāh, see Barthold, *History of Irrigation of Turkestan* (in Russian), p. 44.

B.zāvandaq (?) could not be identified. Coming as it does after Turbat, it seems to belong to southern Khorasan.

Ḥūrūz-va-y.sākū is a great puzzle. The latter place must be identical with *B.sā-kūh-i Mashhad-i muqaddas*, the (hereditary?) governorship of which was held in 1034/1629 by Shahvalī-Sulṭan Jalāyir, *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 743. From Mahdī-khan's *Tārikh-i Nādirī* we know that from the very beginning of Nādir's career Tahmāsp-quli Jalāyir was his most devoted supporter. As Nādir was a native of Kūbkān in the region of Abīvard, the home of the Jalayirs was undoubtedly in the closest neighbourhood of Abīvard. I should read both *Y.sākū* and *B.sā-kūh* as **Nasā-kūh* and interpret it as "the uplands of Nasā," The first name *Ḥūrūz* might then be restored **Fārūz*, which, according to Yāqūt, III, 840, was a dependency of Nasā, and lay at a distance of 3 farsakhs from the latter. Fārūz (or *Bālūz*, Yaqut, I, 408)

1 Balkh, the easternmost "quarter" of the ancient Khorasan is no more included in *T.M.*

2 Karokh had a governor, see *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 763 (*K.r.kh*).

3 Possibly there is some confusion in the distribution of districts under the beglarbegis. The ends of the columns may have been entered by the scribe at wrong places. Cf. below f. 117a: Kūshk and B.zāvandaq.

is the present-day Fīrūza, the well-known hill-station of ʿAshqābād. As Nādir's home lay in the mountains south of Abīvard, his Jalāyir friend must have hailed from the uplands of the more westerly Nasā. The governorship of *Nasā-kūh and *Fārūz, one of the smallest of Khorasan, must have comprised the valley of Fīrūza and (probably) some part of Daragaz.

III. *QANDAHĀR*. For the first time Persians attacked Qandahār in A.D. 1535, but without success. The emperor Humāyūn, who took refuge with Shah Tahmāsp, recaptured Qandahār with Persian aid and ceded it to Tahmāsp, but later occupied it himself. From 1556 to 1594 and from 1621 to 1657 Qandahār was again in Persian possession. Finally in 1648 ʿAbbās II took Qandahār and it remained in Persian possession until 1711, when the Ghilzāʾī Afghans killed the governor, and finally invaded Persia and deposed the Ṣafavids.

ZAMĪNDĀVAR (near the junction of the headwaters of the Hilmand) naturally depended on Qandahār, but Ghūriyān (older name *Būshanj*), lying downstream from Herat, is associated with Qandahār only by mistake. More naturally Ghōr (p. 168) might come under Qandahār, and Ghūriyān under Herat.

KŪSHK, by some mistake as in the preceding paragraph, might be the Kūshk affluent of the Murghāb on the present-day Russo-Afghan frontier. It is true that in connection with Qandahār the early Arab geographers mention a Qasr as the capital of the district Wālish (present-day Sībī, south-east of Quetta) and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* translates Arabic *Qaṣr*, "castle," by Persian *Kūshk*. However, it is not known whether the name survived so late as the Safavid times, and whether in any case the Safavid possessions extended so far south.

The combination of tribes: K.RĪ, LŌKA (?), BĀDGHĪS, TAYMURĪ, ʿALĪ-KHWĀJA [and] MĪR ʿĀRIF BALŪCH, is obscure. It is possible that the governor controlled only the nomads,[1] and this would explain why Bādghīs is mentioned here a second time (v.s., f. 114b). Among the other names only Taymurī is clear. It belongs to one of the Chār-aymāq tribes occupying the region of Ghōr, but Taymurīs are also scattered along the present Afghano-Iranian frontier. The reading of K.rī is not sure: a place called Kurī lay at 3 farsakhs to the east of Tabas, at the junction of the roads from Yazd, Shūr and Nāʾyīn, Iṣṭakhrī, 232,—which makes a long distance from Bādghīs. It is more probable then that K.rī stands for Karaʾī, a well-known Turkish tribe, now centering round Turbat-i Ḥaydarī, see Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 29, and also numerous in Kerman. Lōka (?) "a male camel"; a place called Lōka-Sang is shown in the Tagao Ishlan valley joining the Hari-rud from the south. On the whole, it seems that our item, together with Ghūriyān and Kūshk which precede it, belongs to the neighbourhood of Herat.

IV. The allowance of the beglarbegi of *MERV* was almost equal to that of his colleague of Mashhad and he had a force as strong as that of his colleague of Herat. The Safavids took Merv after the battle in which Shāh Ismāʿīl defeated Shībānī khan in 916/1510. However, the Uzbeks constantly plundered Merv and led off the

1 In Persia such governors accompanying the tribes to their summer quarters used to be called *īl-khānī*.

population into captivity (in 1513 and 1567). In 1587 the Uzbeks openly took the offensive. In 1588 they occupied Herat and between 1592 and 1597 Merv remained in their possession, Barthold, *Irrigation*, p. 67.

C.

Of the **Caspian provinces** only Astarābād and Gīlān (*Dār al-marz*) are mentioned. Māzandarān has been omitted because this province was taken over by Shah ʿAbbās in 1005/1596, as a heritage from his mother's ancestors, and probably on that account was incorporated in the Khāṣṣa, cf. f. 4a, and Chardin, V, 251.

I. The tribes of *ASTARĀBĀD* (cf. f. 4a) are: the Turkish Girāʾī (usually *Girayli*, cf. f. 4b), see on them Melgunov, *O yuzhnom berege*, p. 181, and Rabino, *Mázandarān*, p. 127; Ḥājjīlar are the inhabitants of the Kabūd-jāma district, to the south-east of Gunbad-i Qābūs on the left bank of the Gurgān, cf. f. 4b and Rabino, pp. 100, 129; nothing seems to be known as to the presence of the Jalāyir in Astarābād,[1] though this tribe lived further east on the Khorasan frontier and its chief became a faithful ally of Nādir-shah, v.s., p. 190; the K.rā-Chūpī (Girā-chopī?) are not mentioned either in Melgunov or in Rabino. The Turcoman Göklän occupy the middle course of the Gurgan, and their rivals Yomud, the steppe immediately to the north-east of Astarābād.

II. The *DĀR AL-MARZ* (Gīlān) was incorporated in Persia at the late date of 975/1567 and probably since then the Khāṣṣa had established its rights over it. According to Sanson, 45, a vazir resided at Rasht. This explains why the number of districts enumerated in our list of "State" provinces is so small: Gaskar lies to the west of the Murdāb lagoon; Kohdom, on a canal of the Safīd-rūd where the latter debouches from the mountains; Rānekūh, in the mountains to the east of the Chālkarūd.

Tonakābon is the intermediary district between Gilan and Mazandaran, see *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 389. Moreover, on f. 86b Shaft is quoted as the district assigned to the Tūpchī-bāshī.

D.

Kermān in the south-east is left blank, either as being no military frontier, or because it was administered by the Private Household, though a beglarbegi of Kermān is mentioned on fol. 8a.

E.

The term **Irāq** covers the central provinces of Persia between Isfahan, Hamadan and Tehran.

1 A village Jalāyin (*sic*) near Gurgān is mentioned in Ibn Isfandiyār's *History of Tabaristan*, p. 208.

I. *ISFAHAN* with its dependencies formed a special *maḥāll* ("the district" par excellence) and had a special administration, see §71–§78. Indirectly we obtain knowledge of the composition of the Maḥāll from the list of the places to which the Ṣadr-i khāṣṣa appointed judges. On the western edge of the Central Desert lie; Yazd, Nāyīn, Ardistān, Natanz, Kāshān, Qum and Sāva; towards Fars: Abarqūh and Qūmisha; north-west of Isfahan: Delījān and Maḥallāt; along the road to Sulṭānābād: Khwānsār (Khonsar), Gulpāyagān, Kamara (chief-place: Khumayn), Farāhān (north of Sulṭanabad); west of Isfahan: Rār, Kiyār, Mizdaj, belonging to the Chahār-maḥāll[1]; Firaydan, to the N.W. of the Chahār-maḥāll; *Burbūrūd,[2] west of Gulpāyagān, near ʿAlī-Gūdarz; Jāpalāq,[3] on the head-waters of the Āb-i Diz. Abarqūh and Gulpāyagān figure also on f. 86b as districts assigned to the Tufangchi-bashi and Qullar-aqasi, while the governorship of Rayy is stated to belong to the Eshik-aqasi-bashi.

II. The term *qalam-rau*, "jurisdiction, a province," is used here as a technical Safavid term, for the province of *HAMADĀN*. Its complete form is Qalam-rau-i ʿAlī Shakar,[4] which may have originated in the times of the Qara-qoyunlu who had some special links with Hamadān. The unusual name ʿAli Shakar is attested among the Qara-qoyunlu, see Münejjim-bashi, III, 159, *penult*.

Garrūs lies on the road from Hamadān to Āzarbayjān and a part (?) of its inhabitants speak a Kurdish dialect. Its chief place is Bījār. Zarrīn-kamar is the administrative term of Ṣafavid times. The identity of Zarrīn-kamar with Garrūs is also explained in the history of the vālīs of Ardalān, *Ḥadīqa-yi Nāṣiri* by ʿAlī-Akbar; see Minorsky, Senna in *E.I.* Tuqānmīn (?)—unknown (*Tughān-mīr?).

Hashtād-juft—unknown.

Harsīn, a side valley to the south of Bīsutūn, is reckoned to Kermānshāh, cf. *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 109.

Kalhur is a large Kurdish tribe which, roughly speaking, occupied the region between Māhi-dasht and Mandali. In Safavid times there were three branches of the Kalhur, those of Palangān, Dartang (in Zohāb) and Māhī-dasht (west of Kermānshāh), *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 317-20. Like the other Shīʿa Kurdish tribe of Pāzūkī, the Kalhur must have had some close relations with the Safavid court. We know (f. 127b) that the tribe supplied 500 yāsāqi-men, v.s., p. 38. Our text suggests that the governor of the Kalhur enjoyed an independent position. The Kalhur should come under Kermānshāh, but the latter province is not mentioned in our source. By the treaty of 999/1590 ʿAbbās I had to cede to Turkey the western provinces of Persia, and not before 1612 did he make good his rights to them. After ʿAbbās I's

1 Rār forms the eastern part of the Chahār Maḥāll; Kiyār lies to the S.W. of Rār; Mizdaj (Ptolemy, VI, 4, 3: Μόσδια) to the W. of Rār, see Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern-Persian Irak*, 1897, p. 127.

2 Palaeographically, it would be possible to read this name as Burūjird (*Ẓafar-nāma*, I, 586: Vurūjird), but the latter lies somewhat too far west, and Sanson, 218, says it was under Khorramābād.

3 The name cannot be Turkish *yabalaq* (Eastern Turkish *jabalaq*), "a kind of owl" for it is already in I. Khurdādhbih, 21.

4 Khanikov on his Map, *ZGE*, XIV, 1863, gives *Shakar*, not *Shukr*.

death the expedition led by Khusrev-pasha penetrated up to Hamadān and only by the peace signed in 1639 Sulṭan Murād IV recognised the frontier which more or less forms the basis of the present-day delimitation. For some time, however, the situation in the region of Kermānshāh must have remained unsettled.

III. In the region of the present-day TEHRAN we find mentioned: Khwār and Simnān, Sāva and Ḥāva (read: *Āva*) and the district of Rayy. Tehrān[1] was gradually growing under the Ṣafavids. Pietro della Valle (1618) describes Tehrān as a larger city than Kāshān, and adds that its governor's jurisdiction extended to Fīrūz-kūh. Sir T. Herbert (1627) counted in Tehrān 3000 houses. However, in official use the name of the ancient Rayy (see *E.I.*) still eclipsed that of the future capital of Īrān.

F.

Western provinces. As we have seen, Kermānshāh, lying on the road of Turkish invasions, is not included in the table of administrative units, except for the Shīa tribe of Kalhur. North of Kermānshāh is mentioned the province of Ardalān, and south of it, the highlands inhabited by Lurish tribes.

I. Up to the present day the province called Kurdistān is that which once was ruled by the vālīs of *ARDALĀN*, whose capital was SENNA (or Senandej, cf. f. 7b). The fact that, contrary to fol. 7a, the ruler is called here beglarbegi (and not vālī) may hint at some attempt on the part of the Safavis to reduce the authority of the hereditary rulers, who, being exposed to Ottoman attacks, maintained an ambiguous attitude. In all there are 17 districts in the province of "Kurdistān," see *Senna* in *E.I.*

KHORKHORA, in the valley of a right affluent of the Jaghatū river which flows northwards to the Urmiya lake.

JAVĀNRŪD, an important district occupied by the Jāf tribe. It lies to the south of the Sīrvān (Diyāla) and to the north-east of the Shāho mountains, see *Senna* in *E.I.*

AVROMĀN consists of two separate districts lying north of the Sīrvān. Avromān-i Luhūn lies to the south-west of the Avroman mountain and to the south-east of the Shahrazūr plain; Avromān-i takht lies to the east of the mountain. Both were governed by hereditary *sulṭāns* (captains). Our *Avromān must correspond to the first of them, and the second unnamed district, to the more important Avromān-i takht.

II. *LURISTĀN-I FEYLĪ*, to the south of Kermānshāh and Hamadan, more or less corresponds to the territory once ruled by the dynasty of Lur-i kūchik, see *E.I.*, i.e. to the present day Pusht-i kūh and the territories adjoining it in the west up to Khurram-ābād).

III. The *BAKHTIYĀRĪ* tribes, akin to the Lurs, occupy the highlands between Isfahān, Luristān-i Feylī and ʿArabistān, v.s., p. 124.

IV. *MĀBA* (?) may be *Bāna, an intermediary district between the southern

1 See Minorsky in *E.I.* Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, 56, refers to Tehran under A.D. 1295.

Āzarbayjān and Ardalān. It is separately mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 320, but often stood in a vassal relationship to the vālīs of Ardalān.

G.

Southern provinces. Kirmān having been previously mentioned (without details), the remaining provinces are Fārs and Khūzistān (ʿArabistān), but practically only a minor part of this area was under the Divan administration. Shīrāz was one of the mainstays of the Khāṣṣa, v.s., p. 29, and the major part of Khūzistān was under the vassal Vālī of ʿArabistān.

I. The beglarbegi of *KŪH-GĪLŪ* is mentioned both on f. 122a and f. 7b. Kūh-Gīlū is a territory stretching between Fārs, Khūzistān and the Bakhtiyārī country, *grosso modo* from its capital Behbehān (in the west) to Fahliyān (in the east), see Minorsky, *Luristān*, in *E.I.* About the beginning of the twelfth century, some new invaders pushed back into the Kūh-Gīlū the Iranian tribe of Shūl, which formerly lived in Central Luristan, see Minorsky, *Shūl*, in *E.I.* At an early date, perhaps under the Seljuks, a part of the Turcoman tribe of Afshar settled in Kūh-Gīlū and became a source of numerous complications, see the *Ālam-ārā*, 198-9 and 358 (under 1005/1597). The Shūls were finally absorbed by the Mamaseni Lurs, also a turbulent element. Kūh-Gīlū is frequently mentioned in post-Safavid times as the springboard of several Pretenders.

Baḥrayn was annexed by Persia in 1010/1602 when the ruler of the island Rukn al-din Masʿūd proclaimed his independence of the ruler of Hormuz, who was a vassal of the Portuguese; to avoid the latter's vengeance Rukn al-dīn placed himself under the orders of Allāh-verdi khan, beglarbegi of Fars, *ʿĀlam-ārā*, pp. 423-4. Chardin, V, 257, while stating that lesser governors called *sulṭān* were under the orders of provincial governors, adds: "Mais quelquefois le roi les rend indépendants, et les fait relever de lui immédiatement sans aucune relation au can (khan), ou gouverneur du pays le plus proche, si ce n'est pour les affaires de la guerre. Tels sont les gouvernements du Bander-Rhique (*B.-Rīg*) sur le Golfe Persique, et de l'île de Bharin (*Baḥrayn*) qui est proche de celui-là, lesquels relèvent du can ou gouverneur de Behebon." This latter clause evidently means that *normally* the two places would have been under Behbehān (Kūh-Gīlū).

Zaydābāt, probably **Zaydānāt*, referring to the lower course of the Āb-i Shīrīn, which flows past Zaydān and Hindiyān, in the south-west of Kūh-Gīlū, cf. *Ḥudud al-ʿĀlam*, p. 212.

Sarvistān lies south-east of Shīrāz, near the lake Mahārlū (ancient *Mahālūya*). Like Bandar-i ʿAbbāsī and Dashtistān it has nothing to do with Kūh-Gīlū, but probably formed a local government.

Dauraq is the present-day Fallāḥiya in Khūzistān, and lies on the lower course of the Jarrāḥī river. Under Tahmāsp I, Dauraq was in the occupation of the Qizil-bash tribes of Kūh-Gīlūya. Towards 1000/1591 Sayyid Mubārak, vālī of Ara-

bistan, wrested it from them. In 1029/1619 the beglarbegi of Fārs conquered Dauraq, see *Ālam-ārā*, 675. In the eighteenth century Dauraq was in the hands of the Arab tribe of Kaʿb.

Bandar-i ʿabbāsī was created by ʿAbbās I on the site of the old Gombrun in 1622, after the expulsion of the Portuguese.

Dashtistān is the inland tract of territory stretching south-east of Bushire, behind the mountains of the coastal region.[1]

II. The valis of *ʿARABISTĀN* belonged to the house of Mushaʿshaʿ and resided in Huwayza on the Karkha, see Minorsky, *Mushaʿshaʿ* in *E.I.* After the death of Sayyid Mubārak in 1025/1616 the dynasty gradually declined. During the Afghan invasion, Sayyid ʿAbdullāh played a disreputable rôle with his swaggering.[2]

III. *SUMAYRAM* lies on the central plateau to the north-east of Kūh-i Dīnā. Its special position is due to the fact that it is situated off the road in the frontier region of Isfahan and Fars.

In Central Fars, Kāzarūn is referred to (f. 86b) as the district assigned to the Qurchi-bashi.

PART III
BUDGET

(A) Revenue (table ii)

(a) The Totals: *(α)* per administrations.
(β) per provinces.
(γ) per sources.

(b) Heads of Revenue

(c) Revenue according to European Sources

There are considerable discrepancies in the figures of Part III. The author himself often quotes the amount of revenue, etc., with the addition of the words *va kasrī*, "so much odd." Such small numbers are omitted in the items, but they seem to be included in the totals, and this explains the difference between the sums given by the author and those obtained by the adding up of the items. In this case, the author's data should be preferred. A number of mistakes are attributable to the scribe who apparently left out and disfigured some numbers. The latter are spelt out throughout, but frequently *syṣd*, "300" is spelt *shysd*, and this leads to a confusion with *sh.shsd*, "600," etc.

The important table of Revenue has particularly suffered in the process of copying: it looks as if the scribe had before him an original written on large sheets, which he transcribed in bits, on pages of a smaller size. In this way the sequence of the columns has been disturbed, and so, for example, "Private Department" may

1 Neither B. ʿAbbāsī, nor Dashtistān have any connection with the Kūh-Gīlū.

2 On the other hand, the *Z.T.*, f. 207, records some reasonable suggestions for the defence of Isfahan made by ʿAlī khan, "vālī of ʿArabistān." ʿAlī khan, author of a history of the Mushaʿshaʿ, was the rival of ʿAbdullāh.

have been inserted in the middle of "Provinces."[1]

(a) The Totals

A close study of the Table shows that the data are meant to come in the following order:

(a) The grand total, in accordance with the author's system first to quote a total, and then the items composing it;

(b) The totals of the Dīvān and Khāṣṣa administration, the sum of which is equal to (*a*).

(c) The totals per provinces, the sum of which is also equal to (*a*).

The remarks on (*a*) and (*b*) can be easily verified:

Grand total ("payable in cash," etc):	785.623	t.	8809	d.
Divan	608.652	t.	3403	d.
Private Department	176.971		2405	
	785.623		5808	

Both totals coincide to a tuman.

In the enumeration of revenue by provinces (*c*) the items also follow the totals.

	As in text			As checked		
Kirmān	17.713	7000	+	17.713	6900	
Khūzistān	117.629	5850		98.451	3100	(NB)
ʿIrāq[2]	213.416	6058		213.816	2904	
Fārs	142.001	3000		159.032	7200	(NB)
Āzarbāyjān[3]	161.969	8400	+	161.597	8004	
Gīlān	69.102	7000	+	69.116	6900	
Shīrvān	63.784	8900	+	63.784	8800	
	785.718	7008		783.513	3808	

The total per provinces (*c*) is meant definitely to arrive at the same grand total as the revenue of the two administrations (*b*). On the other hand, it must be understood that the items per provinces cannot serve for a comparative estimation of the local resources because they do not contain the considerable revenue of the Khāṣṣa, such as silk from Gilan.

The items mentioned under each province are usually headed "sarkār of so-and-so," which seems to indicate that the respective sums collected in the prov-

1 The fact that the enumeration of provinces is interrupted by this item can not mean that the provinces which are referred to after "Private Department," were somehow connected with the latter, for ʿIrāq alone with its 213.416 t. 6058 d. had more revenue than the Private Department.

2 With the sums payable (?) to ʿIrāq from the revenue of Kirman and Khuzistan the total of the ʿIrāq revenue is 213.963 t. 3258 d.

3 With the sum payable (?) to Azarbayjan from the revenue of Kirman the total of Azarbayjan is 211.830 t. 7800 d.

ince were to be credited to some special departments (*sarkār*),[1] such as "Khāṣṣa, mines, etc." One fact is particularly significant: while under ʿIrāq, Fārs and Āzarbayjān are mentioned the avāraja of the same provinces, under Kirmān and Khūzistān figure the avāraja of Khorasan and ʿIrāq, and under Shīrvan the avāraja of Āzarbayjān. The only explanation of this arrangement appears to be that the revenue of the last named provinces served to strengthen the cash boxes of other provinces and that these mutual accounts were settled through the avāraja books.

The whole of the avāraja revenue shown in our text is:

		Avāraja of:			
1.	Kirmān	Khorasan	5.176	6000	+
		ʿIrāq	339	2500	+
2.	Khūzistān	Khorasan	92.582	6300	+
		ʿIrāq	207	4700	+
3.	ʿIrāq	ʿIrāq	126.788	1000	+
4.	Fārs	Fārs	76.464	3000	
5.	Āzarbāyjān		126.437	6900	
6.	Gīlān	Blank	Blank		
7.	Shīrvān	Āzarbāyjān	49.860	9400	+
		Total	477.856	9800	

The items figuring under Khāṣṣa in the seven provinces correspond to the total of the Khāṣṣa, as indicated under (*b*):

Kirmān	3.432	t.	4700	d.
Khūzistān	5.255		6100	
ʿIrāq	66.552		0304	
Fārs	26.189		4000	
Āzarbāyjān	6.156		5802	
Gīlān	68.198		9000	
Shīrvān	849		0500	
	176.634		0406	

The other heads of revenue for each province are as follows:

		Ḍābiṭa		Mines		Keepers	
1.	Kirmān	7.542	2900	1.223	0800		
2.	Khūzistān					405	6000
3.	ʿIrāq	19.423	4500	821	1300	251	5800
4.	Fārs	37.158	2800	4.178	0000	39	5000
		15.003	2400				
5.	Āzarbāyjān	26.826	0400				
6.	Gīlān	10	0000	907	7900		
7.	Shīrvān	8.477	2100	4.547	6800	50	0000

1 Cf. p. 105, note 3.

	Ḍābiṭa		Mines		Keepers	
Divan			1.423	0200		
Private Dt.					746	6916
	114.440	5100	13.100	7000	1.493	3716

The totals per heads of revenue:

(a)	Avāraja	477.856	9800
(b)	Khāṣṣa	176.971	2405
(c)	Ḍabiṭa	114.440	5100
(d)	Mines	13.100	7000
(e)	Keepers	1.493	3716
		783.862	8021

With the doubtful item under Āzarbāyjān, viz. 2177 t. 4902 d., the total is 786.040 t. 2923 d. The difference with the grand total (*a*) is again slight.

(b) Heads of Revenue

We can now examine in more detail the important question of "accounts" or "departments" (*sarkār*) under which the provincial revenue was collected, viz.:

(a) Avāraja (with several subdivisions).
(b) Khāṣṣa.
(c) Ḍabiṭa.
(d) Mines (*maʿddin*).
(e) Arbāb-i taḥāvīl ("Keepers").

(a) The commentary on the Avāraja was given under §70. Our table shows that, with the exception of considerably lesser items (*b*), (*c*), (*d*) and (*e*), the major part of the revenue passed through the avāraja books. It seems pretty certain that avāraja represented taxes levied in the provinces according to a definite assessment, and most probably, the land-taxes based on some kind of survey (cadastre).

(b) The sums figuring under Khāṣṣa went into the King's Private Dt. However, the sum of 176.971 tomans could not represent the whole of the Khāṣṣa revenue. Chardin, V, 346, says that the King had numerous interests in the "provinces" and the amount mentioned may be only his share in the revenue of the Dīvān-i mamālik. Some provinces (Khorāsān, Astarābād, Māzandarān) are *not* mentioned in our budget. They are precisely those which, according to reliable European sources, were attached to and directly governed by the Khāṣṣa. We have to presume that their revenues were collected by the King's managers and formed extra-budgetary sums. In this case, our source does not enable us to form an idea of their amount.

(c) Ḍābiṭa, v.s., §65, apparently stood for every kind of revenue which was not expressed in lump sums. Our source (f. 67b) definitely says that, "with the exception of the sums (*vujūhāt*) which entered the Khāṣṣa, and the Dt. of the

Avāraja," the rest of products and rents was collected by the Ḍābiṭa Dt. This suggests that this Dt. was especially in charge of revenue in kind (*maḥṣūlāt*) and of the rents (*mustaghallāt*) from the more casual sources, such as were leased or farmed out[1] and could not be accurately estimated beforehand. §65 gives a useful list of some special taxes which were collected by the Ḍābiṭa-nivīs.

(α) Road-taxes, v.i., p. 205, paragraph C*(h)*.

(β) Taxes on tobacco-trade. According to Chardin the tobacco-duties produced 1,000,000 livres (over 20,000 tomans). Sanson, 99, puts the produce of the "douane de tabac" much higher, namely, at 2,500,000 livres (circa 55,000 tomans).

(γ) *Taqabullāt* possibly referring to some contracts for the Government, e.g. for the collection of maliyāt due to the Treasury, etc. The practice was certainly lucrative for the *Z.T.*, f. 205a, in the account of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's idle stay in Qazvīn (A.D. 1719), attacks the amirs who neglected the interests of the state and "began to sell offices and to take contracts" (*manṣab-furūshī va taqabbul-giriftan*).

(δ) *Jihāt-i ʿamal-kardī-yi mamālik* were the fees levied additionally to the original sum of taxes, as a compensation for the trouble of collecting them.[2] Such is the meaning resulting from the important passage in the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 405:

> After a successful campaign in Khorasan in 1007/1598 Shāh ʿAbbās bestowed various kinds of favours on the population of ʿIrāq and abolished the following levies: (*a*) the *chūpān-begī* (see below), which they used to pay to the amount of 20,000 tomans yearly: (*b*) the *ʿamal-kard-i ḥukkām* which, in addition to "the original sum of taxes in cash, to the profits (*manāfiʿ*) of the holders of tiyūls and to the *dārūghaki*," the governors levied in a proportion of five to one (*yakī-rā panj*)[3] these levies amounted to 50–60,000 tomans and were contrary to the ancient book of assessment (*qānūn-i qadīm*) and to the instructions (*dastūr al-ʿamal*) of Shāh Tahmāsp; moreover (*c*) the Shah relieved the taxes (*māl-va-manāl*) of Isfahan for one year, to the amount of 20,000 tomans.

Under the Qajars a practice similar to the *ʿamal-kard* bore the name of *tafāvut-i ʿamal*. On ff. 74a and 76a, the term *nuskha-yi ʿamalkard* is found, which may refer to some record of such levies operated by the vazirs under the control of the Mustaufi-yi khāṣṣa.

(ε) *Chūpān-begi*, i.e. the tax on the animals corresponding to the *qopchur* of Mongol times, v.i., p. 205, paragraph C*(a)*.

(ζ) *Iltizāmāt-i manāfiʿ-i iḥḍār*, apparently caution-money collected from plaintiffs in criminal cases, cf. ff. 21b and 39a.

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1 The term *mustaʾjir*, "tenant," pretty often occurs in our text, ff. 8a, 59a, 72a, 73a, in spite of Chardin, v, 383, who says that leases of lands belonging to the State were practised seldom and only in the neighbourhood of large towns where vegetables were grown. On the lease of fisheries, oil wells, caravansarais, etc., see Olearius below, p. 179.

2 The term *ʿamal-kard*, "what has been accomplished, operations," occurs on ff. 74a, 76a.

3 Grammatically this is the only possible meaning of *yakī-rā panj*, but the proportion of the additional levy (500 per cent.) sounds exorbitant; no depreciation of money would account for it.

(η) *Poll-tax* of the Indians, v.i., p. 205, paragraph C*(f)*.

(θ) Duties on *cattle-markets*. According to Olearius, 669, the duty on such sales was: a horse or a mule 8 Groschen (Engl. tr. "15d.") an ass 4, a bull 1 Orthsthaler, a sheep 1 qazbegi = 9 Pfennigs (Engl. tr. "3d."), and there were hundreds of thousands of sheep sold.

This enumeration cannot be exhaustive but it indicates sufficiently the character of taxes under the Ḍābiṭa-nivīs, their produce not being fixed beforehand but depending on the year and the circumstances.

(d) We learn from the *T.M.* that there was a special *avāraja-nivīs* of Mines (§49). An item on Mines figures under the Divan Dt. (f. 124a), apart from similar items under separate provinces, but Mines and Khāṣṣa are distinguished throughout, and this does not allow us to infer that revenue from Mines fed exclusively the Private Department. With particular care our source records under the "Divan revenue in kind" (f. 123b): 8½ maunds 80 mithqāls of *mūmiyā*, a kind of bitumen, the healing properties of which were highly appreciated in Persia.[1] According to Kaempfer, p. 95, the following "mineralia" were exploited in Persia: *pearls* of Baḥrayn (though in olden times they were found also round Ormuz); *turquoises* of Nishāpūr ("non omni tempore colligi à Régi indultae"); *gold* and *silver* found in several provinces, but not exploited in view of the prohibitive cost; *copper* from rich mines in Kirman had formerly to be tempered by copper from Japan[2]; some mines were also known in Khorasan; *lead* mixed with silver was found in Yazd and Kirmān; *iron*, in Khorasan and elsewhere; *steel* (*pūlād*), produced in Arzinjān (?)[3] was not inferior to that of Golconda; *saltpetre*, *sulphur*, *mercury* and *antimony*, in Natanz and elsewhere; *salt*, obtained from mines or through evaporation, in all the provinces; *oil*, in Baku[4] and, in lesser quantity, at Shūshtar (i.e. probably at the original site of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., at Masjid-i Sulaymān).

(e) The revenue under the Arbāb-i taḥāvīl was that received at the various stores, principally those of the Private Dt. To some extent it seems to correspond to the *infādhāt* frequently mentioned in our source. They were the goods sent from the provinces by "vazirs, 'āmils and gārāk-yarāqs" (f. 18a). While speaking of the Buyūtāt, our source (f. 16a) refers to the goods which used to be sent from the provinces annually (*hama-sālajāt*) in accordance with the raqams. On f. 18b again it is said that the Nāẓir sent special delegates (*muḥaṣṣil*) to collect and send the hama-sāla goods assigned on the provinces. On f. 19b it is recorded that the Nāẓir's subordinates visited certain localities in order to send from thence textiles for the robes of honour to be issued to the amirs, etc. The *vazīrs* mentioned in connection with such "sendings" (ff. 89b, 98a) must be the Managers adminis-

1 See Kaempfer, 516–24, who especially investigated the subject on the spot.

2 As in another passage, *Japan* must be a slip for *Georgia*, natural on. the part of Kaempfer, who visited Japan!

3 An evident mistake. Arzinjān in Armenia was lost to Persia after A.D. 1514. Arsinjān lies east of the ruins of Persepolis, but no other record of its industries seems to exist.

4 Olearius, 272, says that the springs of *nefte* were farmed out. According to Sanson, 98. "la douane de naphte" of Shamākhī (Shirvān) produced 1.000.000 livres, i.e. *circa* 22.000 tomans.

tering the territories under the Khāṣṣa[1]; the *ʿāmils* are either the officers in the district of Isfahan specially assigned to the Khāṣṣa, cf. f. 71b, or financial agents in provinces; under *gäräk-yaraq* some special purveyors must be meant, possibly delegated by the Buyūtāt and possessing a special knowledge of the quality of goods.[2]

The goods assigned on some special localities were counted as taxes. From Chardin, VII, 330, we know that the King received carpets in payment of cent for the lands allotted to the carpet-weavers. It was natural that this kind of contributions, directly associated with the needs of the Royal Buyūtāt, should be registered separately from the rest of the revenue, and this explains the rubric of *Arbab-i taḥāvīl*. Who was responsible for this Department? As already stated, v.s., p. 157, the term *arbāb-i taḥāvīl* must refer to the Heads of the departments (*ṣāḥib-jamʿān*) of the Royal Workshops, but, in a more general sense, it may have been used for the whole staff under the Nāẓir, whose business it was to receive and keep consignments of goods and raw stuffs intended to be used in the Royal Household.

To sum up, the amount of Persian State Revenue may be estimated in the region of 800.000 tomans. Outside this sum remains the revenue collected directly by the Royal Khāṣṣa. Nearly 22 per cent. of the State revenue apparently also went into the Khāṣṣa. The land-taxes (?) registered in the avāraja-books were responsible for 61 per cent, of the total; the levies coming under the heading of ḍābiṭa, for 14·5 per cent.; the revenue from mines, for 2 per cent., and the goods remitted to the Keepers for ⅕ per cent.

(c) Revenue according to European Sources

The amount of the Shah's revenue greatly interested all the visitors to his dominions but, in the absence of any official statistics and the secrecy obtaining in such matters of state interest, the estimates were purely hypothetical and their claim to veracity is limited to single details.

An estimate of Shah Tahmasp's resources belongs to Dr. Minadoi (A.D. 1558). He picked up his facts during a seven years' sojourn in Syria and Constantinople where there were observers watching the situation in Persia, but naturally hostile to the Safavids. Minadoi's estimate was much utilised by the contemporary writ-

1 Kaempfer, 139: Vaziri vocantur Gubernatores Dominiorum et Provinciarum earum quarum reditus sacrati sunt in Aulae militisque Regii sustenfationem.

2 The term is Turkish: *gäräk*, "necessary," *yaraq* in a general sense (from *yaramaq*, "to be useful") "an implement, an object possessing some utility." In a special sense *yaraq* means "arms." The compound stands then for "purveyor of necessary things, or of arms." Under 1004/1595, the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 352, records the appointment of Allāh-verdi khan to Fārs: "it was decreed that every year he should take with him to Fārs 300 ghulāms of the Royal Khāṣṣa and employ them for lesser posts (*khidamāt-i juzʾ*) in every vilāyat, in order that out of local revenue (*manāfiʿ*) they should supply (*saranjām*) arms and implements appertaining to service (*yarāq va asbāb-i yasāq*). *Ibid.*, 287: *āzūqa va yarāq*, "food and arms." Olearius, Eng. tr., 211: "the *kerek jerak*, or ordinary steward of His Majesty's Household" (?).

ers. According to it the Shah's revenue amounted to "4–5,000,000 gold" but he finally raised it to 8,000,000 by imposing a compulsory rate of exchange. At the period of decline under Muḥammad Khudā-banda, when much Persian territory was lost to Turkey, the revenue of Persia was only slightly superior to 2,000,000 ("gold").

According to the Venetian ambassador d'Alessandri, who visited Persia towards the end of Shah Tahmāsp's reign, the king's income amounted to "three millions of gold" (?). As "duties" were inexistent in Persia, the revenue consisted of the following items:

One-sixth of the produce of the land, of corn and other plants;

an annual payment of 66 pieces of gold (rather more than 4 sequins of gold) per 1000 "archi" (*jarīb*?), of which ten go to an ordinary field, so that one pays less than ½ ducat for a field;

5 per cent. of the rent of houses;

a capitation of 5, 7 or 8 ducats on each house of Christians;

a tax on animals: 40 sheep paid 15 bīstī (= 3 ducats), the male animals being excepted; a cow, 2 ducats, etc.

Vechietti (1586) evaluated Khudā-Banda's total revenue in peace-time at "5 million gold," the revenue of Isfahan being 32,000 tomans = 700,000 ducats (each of 10 realī), and that of Shiraz on the same scale.

In his careful compilation on Persia, de Laet (A.D. 1633), on the authority of one of his Dutch countrymen,[1] evaluates the revenue collected by Shah ʿAbbās at 357,000 tomans, or 14,280,000 florins. This sum represented for the most part the produce of silk, the fruits of the gardens belonging to the Shah, some moderate custom revenues (minuta portoria) and the lease of caravansarais. In it was not included what the Shah received from various princes, lands and cities.

Sir Thomas Herbert, 330, possibly follows Minadoi in estimating Shah Tahmasp's revenue in 1560 at "8,000,000 crowns (?), from 50 sultans who farmed his income," and then de Laet, in saying that Shah ʿAbbās "at this day from silk and other duties receives yearly above 9,000,000 [crowns?], 14,280,000 florins, some say 357,000 tomans which in ours is about 1,190,000 pounds sterling."[2]

Olearius, ed. 1656, pp. 668–70, who completed his work in 1639, heard an estimate of the Shah's revenue as being over 8,000,000 Reichsthalers (i.e. more probably 640.000 than 160.000 tomans).[3] Of these, the revenue of Qandahār stood for 1,000,000 and was nearly equalled by those of Erivan and Babylonia (Baghdad). The environs of Isfahan yielded 40,000 Rth. Olearius also refers to the numerous tolls, the duties on silk, on the sale of animals, on baths and brothels, on the irrigation of gardens (9 ʿabbāsī on an area of 40 × 30 cubits), on the Armenians

1 P. 174: a quodam nostrorum accepi.

2 Consequently, he takes 1 toman for £3 6s. 9d.

3 Olearius, 559, explains that at the rate of 1 Rth. in Persia was 1 ʿabbāsī (= 1/50 toman), although in weight 1 Rth. was equal up to 4 ʿabbāsī. In Meißen currency ("Meißnische Münze") 1 ʿabbāsī was equal to 8 groschen and 8 pfennigs.

(100,000 men at 2 Rth. per head), etc., for some of which he quotes only the rates of assessment. He also mentions the lease of the fisheries of Gilan (25,000 Rth.), of oil-wells (4,000 Rth.) and of caravansarais, of which there were 24 in Isfahan alone, each bringing 200–300 tomans (yearly?).

The only European estimate which is based on a special study of Persian finance, made in the course of a long sojourn in the country, is that given by Chardin, V, 394–415. We shall analyse it in detail and supplement it by some contemporary data found in Kaempfer, Sanson, etc.

A. From the State territories, i.e. the great provinces (*mamālik*) in which the King possessed no lands,[1] he received only some customary contributions (*rusūm*):

(a) Ordinary, consisting of a tax (?),[2] or a definite amount of the best products of the country, e.g. butter of Kurdistan, wine and slaves of both sexes of Georgia, such sendings being called *bārkhāna-yi shāh*, "the King's caravan."

(b) Extraordinary, consisting of presents of the same kind, some rare objects and offerings for the New Year. Although this part of the sendings was registered by the Pīshkash-nivīs and not by the Dīvān, in practice their amount was regulated by custom.

B. From the demesnes [*khāṣṣa*], of which the King was the seigneur, he collected all the revenue, i.e. ⅓ of every produce of the land (v.s., p. 25).

C. Seignorial rights:

(a) Levies on herds. The King possessed few herds of his own, but through specially appointed *chobān-bāshīs* levied ⅐ of fleece and young animals (cf. *chūpān-begi*, ff. 67b, 69a); from the foals, ⅓ of their price was collected, but the latter was evaluated very low.

(b) The tax on silk and cotton was equal to ⅓ of the produce.[3]

(c) The mines of metals and precious stones and pearl-fisheries belonged to the King,[4] but ⅓ of the produce was levied preferably, because (?) of the costliness of production ("mais on enlève le tiers préférablement pour les frais ou la dépense"?).

(d) The coins brought 2 per cent, to the King, in addition (?) to what was levied for the salaries of the officials and the cost ("sans ce qu'on lève pour les gages des officiers et pour les frais"), v.s., p. 145.

(e) Taxes on water, the neighbourhood of Isfahan alone producing 4,000 tomans[5] and the river of Fars ("Araxes," i.e. Polvar) 1000 t., Kaempfer, 96.

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1 "Le roi n'y a point de fonds en propre."

2 Kaempfer, 97, counts 5 'abbāsīs, or "decern argenti drachmae, per jugerum" (*jarīb*?), while Sanson, 97, says: "Le Roy tire environ 15 sols … de chaque arpent"

3 Olearius, 668, estimates the duty on silk at 10 Rth. per bale, Gilan producing 8,000 bales, Mazandaran 2,000, Shirvan 3,000, Georgia and Armenia 5,000, Qarabagh 2,000, i.e. 20,000 in all, to say nothing of Khorasan. Consequently the duties exceeded 200,000 Rth. (or 4.000 tomans).

4 See, however, f. 129b: the Governor of Baḥrayn had a credit of 1000 t. for buying pearls.

5 According to Olearius, 669: 16,000 Reichsthalers (possibly a mistake for 160.000 Rth. =

(f) Poll-tax on non-Muslim, both local and foreign.[1] According to Du Mans, 46, the Jews and Armenians had to pay a *kharāj* or *jizya* of one "medical" [i.e. mithqal = 4·69 grammes] of gold per head of each adult male[2]; also Kaempfer, 96. The poll-tax of the Indians (f. 67a: *sarāna-yi Hunūd*) must have produced considerable sums too for, according to Chardin, VI, 164, there were some 20,000 Indians in Isfahan alone (according to Kaempfer, 175, decies mille Indos ex Multhania).

(g) Tax on the shops (*bunīcha*) of the artisans and traders, of whom the latter paid a double amount (called by Kaempfer *tutliaar*?, i.e. apparently **māliyāt-i Hujjār*). On *bunīcha* see above, p. 166, and also Du Mans, 33, Tavernier, Book V, ch. 10, and Kaempfer, 96. The lump sum to be collected from a guild was distributed among its members by the Kalāntar, f. 77a. Chardin says that each shop had to pay 10–20 sous, i.e. 1/90– 1/45 of a toman.

(h) Road tolls ("péages," *rāhdārī*), originally established for the remuneration of the road-guards, were increased in the later times so as to form a considerable item of state revenue (Kaempfer: "non contemnendam aerarii partem"). According to Olearius, Eng. tr., 272, "there is hardly any bridge or passage … but there is something to be paid."

(i) Custom houses were very imperfectly organised. Only in the Persian Gulf were the customs levied *ad valorem* (10 per cent.); on the other frontiers they were levied per loads, personal kit being exempted and each eleventh load free. Under ʿAbbās II, the customs of Bandar-Abbāsī and Kong produced 1,100,999 livres, *circa* 24.000 tomans, but under Shah Sulaymān they fell to 4–5 000,000 livres: (circa 10,000 t.), and it was not until 1674 that the Government made up their minds to farm them out, for 1,200,000 livres. According to Kaempfer, 93, who spent much time in the Persian Gulf, the customs levied on the Caspian sea produced little[3]; more important was the produce of the southern ports, namely, Bandar-ʿAbbāsī, Bandar-Kong and Bandar-Rīg. The Europeans paid little. The English, as a compensation for their help in expelling the Portuguese, were exempted from import and export duties, and were moreover to receive half of the produce of the Gombroon custom-house,[4] though in fact they compromised at 1000 tomans, which amounted only to 1/5 of the total due to them. The Portuguese also enjoyed freedom of commerce, in return for their abandonment of the formerly occupied coasts; they also claimed half of the customs of Kong in view of the treaty by which they 3200 tomans?).

1 Olearius, 669: 1,000,000 Armenians paying two Reichsthalers per head.

2 It appears from the interesting document XI in Or. 4935, that the Julfā Armenians living in Isfahan paid nearly 580 tomans as *vajh-i jizya-yi muqṭaʿī va rasm al-vizāra va rusūm-i dārūghakī*. "Julāh" in this case is not "a weaver" but "Julfā," cf. *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 445. Thévenot, 216, says that the Jews (refractory to conversion) paid "un sequin par teste par an," while the Armenians, who had a Kalāntar of their own and a dārūgha appointed by the Shah, paid 500 t. yearly. V.i., p. 229.

3 Sanson, 99, estimates the revenue from the "douane" of Gilan at 80,000 t.; perhaps putting into "douane" a broader meaning than only "custom house."

4 Cf. Sir W. Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, p. 312.

had ceded the island of Bahrayn and its pearl-fisheries (cf. our f. 130b). The Dutch succeeded in obtaining the privilege of annual free importation of a contingent of goods to the amount of 20.000 (in fact 25.000) tomans, and the transportation of these goods inland without any further examination, 10 per cent. being paid on the merchandise in excess of this norm.[1] The French, in spite of their efforts to secure freedom from duties, were seldom successful, and other nations were never exempted from payment. The income of Gombroon (i.e. Bandar-ʿAbbāsī) was *circa* 10.000 t., that of Kong somewhat less, and that of Bandar-Rīg still less, for its bar was becoming inaccessible to loaded boats.

D. Casual revenue from confiscations and presents sent to the Court. It was a rule that anyone who had incurred the Shah's disgrace lost his property: "on lui ôte ses biens, ses esclaves, et quelquefois jusqu'à sa femme et ses enfants. … Toute la nature, pour ainsi dire se soulève contre lui; car souvent on lui refuse une pipe de tabac, et quelquefois un verre d'eau," Chardin, V, 285.[2] To the same category of revenue belonged sums of money which the governors had to pay when the King sent them a robe of honour. This latter practice was so regular that Chardin, V, 406, considers it as a special "taxe sur les aisés," v.s., p. 136. Finally, under this heading must be mentioned the *ʿavāriḍ-i dīvān*, i.e. the extraordinary subsidies ("aubaines") collected for the keep of Ambassadors, for public festivities and fireworks. V.s., p. 24, note 4.

E. Labour services (corvées) to which the artisans were bound, or a money substitute of the corvées (v.s., p. 22). Particularly onerous must have been the contributions of the professions engaged in building. According to Le Brun, 297, Shah Sulṭan Ḥusayn's passion for new palaces and gardens cost him nothing. "When he has an inclination to erect any new edifice, his will is made publicly known by sound of trumpets, that such as are attached to his interest may attend and contribute towards the completion of the intended building. Upon this general summons, artificers of all sorts flock to the Court from all parts in order to offer their service, through loyalty, without any expectation, or hope of reward; nor do the grandees, or lords of the court, ever fail to send other workmen at their expense." As the grandees themselves drew most liberally on the labour services of their subjects, one need not imagine that the labour they procured for their sovereign caused them much expense.

Chardin insists on the great difficulty of estimating the absolute amount of the Shah's revenue, of which even the Ministers of State were not fully cognisant:

1 This is the tithe referred to on f. 130b.

2 Sanson, 110 , and Kaempfer, 53, quote some striking cases of these changes of fortune. Chardin, v, 229, while describing the tyranny of the Shahs, says: "rien ne met à couvert des extravagances de leur caprice, ni probité, ni mérite, ni zèle, ni services rendus: un mouvement de leur fantaisie, marqué par un mot de la bouche, ou par un signe des yeux, renverse à l'instant les gens les mieux établis. … les prive des biens, de la vie; et tout cela sans aucune forme de procès." However, the "flames of the august ire" fell almost exclusively on the heads of his courtiers. Says Chardin, *ibid.*, 231: "Mais après tout, hors du rang des courtisans et des plus grands seigneurs, je n 'ai jamais vu ni entendu dire que le roi a it fait outrage personnel sur le champ et sans procédure."

"chacun sait ce qui est de son département, et guère davantage." According to Chardin, the principal embarrassments were that the sources of revenue in Persia were administered by the State (en régie) and not fanned out (as in France!), and secondly, that the system of assignments (*tiyūl*, etc.) withdrew many lands from the Government's control. With these reserves Chardin presents the result of his observations in the following table.[1]

State lands (*circa* 100.000 per province)[2]		2.000.000	francs
Demesnes		14.000.000	francs
Namely	Rasht over	2.000.000	francs
	Mazandaran	600.000	livres
	Parthia (Khorasan)	450.000	livres
	Fars	800.000	livres
Roll-tolls and customs duties		6.000.000	francs
Presents (étrennes)		5–6.000.000	francs
Tobacco duties (of which Isfahan stood for 100 000 livres) etc.		1.000.000	livres

Total of the King's revenue: 32.000.000 livres = 700.000 tomans.

This calculation of a foreign observer represents a remarkable achievement for it comes close enough to the sum. of 785.623 t. 8809 d. which is given in our confidential source. We must not forget, however, that our source gives only a part of the Khāṣṣa revenue and omits to mention the purely khāṣṣa provinces, which Chardin, on the contrary, includes in his estimate.

Kaempfer, 96–7, is much vaguer in taking the revenue from customs and from lands as being 400.000 tomans. Under the heading of "questus venerei vel mixti" he records 1000 tomans "quos Rex ex solis ducit lupanaribus," v.s., p. 155. This money was undoubtedly a weight on the conscience of the more sanctimonious kings. In 939/1532 Shah Tahmāsp, being 20 years old, caused the taxes (*vujūh*) from public-houses, gambling hells and brothels (*bayt al-lutf*) to be cancelled from the financial books (*dafātir*), see *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 95. It was no easy proposition, however, to checkmate vice, and Shah ʿAbbās found a clever device to circumvene the moral difficulty, v.s., p. 155. For the rest of the revenue, Kaempfer remarks: "quod cetera ferant genera, accurate non licet assequi cum eandem quotannis mensuram non impleant."

(B) Expenditure (table III)

The table begins similarly to the other tables:

(a) Grand total of expenditure in cash.[3]

(b) The totals of expenditure of the Dīvān and Private Departments, the sum

1 Chardin, v, 412–3, counts now in *francs* and now in *livres*, the two terms equally referring to the silver coin of 20 sols. He usually reckons 1 toman = 45.5 livres = 15 écus, but on p. 413 he rounds up 1 toman to 50 livres.

2 Probably the sums registered in the avāraja.

3 The items expressed "in kind" are negligible

of both being equal to (*a*).

Total cash	625.273	6000+
Dīvān Department	507.400	6300+
Private Department	117.873	9300+
	625.274	5600+

(e) Opens with the total of the tiyūl and hama-sāla salary, followed by the enumeration of single items, for which the author's totals must be more reliable than the totals calculated on the basis of the scribe's copy, though the latter follow the former very closely.

(α)	*Civil staff:*		
	(1) Some princesses	2.191	6300
	(2) Amīrs and governors	396.792	0000
	(3) Farrāshes	5.956	5000+
	(4) Yasāvulān-i ṣuḥbat	4.721	7420
	(5) Doctors	4.998	1300+
	(6) Workmen	6.542	1000+
	(7) Yasāvuls	1.587	1700+
(β)	*Military staff:*		
	(8) Artillery men	1.942	5000+
	(9) Qūrchis	25.572	6700+
	(10) Ghulāms	18.201	5200
	(11) Tufangchis, etc.	21.960	3300+
	(12) Ghāzīs	2.777	5850
	(13) Garrisons	2.124	8700+
(γ)	*Others:*	7.892	1700+
	As calculated	503.320	9170+
	As indicated	491.896	5700

(f) Under *tāḥvīl* must be understood the sums credited to various officials for producing or acquiring certain commodities

As calculated	36.483	9800+
As indicated	40.391	4569

Under Revenue (Table II) the share of the arbāb-i taḥāvīl is given as 1493 t. 3716 d. and we have to conclude that the much more important sum of expenditure figuring under the present paragraph was covered by an additional allocation from the general budget.

(g) Under "soyūrghāl, etc." are combined various kinds of grants having the character of special favours (*soyūrghāl*, v.s., p. 30, *muʿāfī*, "exemption," *vaẓīfa*, "pension," *muqarrarī*, "regular subvention," *madad-i maʿāsh*, "subvention to subsistence," *madad-i kharj*, "subvention to expenses," *musallamī*, v.s., p. 30), as well as *ikhrājāt*, representing "occasional and various disbursements," and *zakāt*, "alms of pious nature."

As calculated	67.235	1100+
As indicated	93.032	0500+

The items (*c*), (*d*), (*e*) are meant to specify the different classes of payments which go up for working the total (*a*):

Total (*a*)	625.273	6000+
Total of (*c*), (*d*), (*e*)	625.320	0769+

The calculated sum of (*c*), (*d*), (*e*), viz. 607.040 t. 0070 d. suggests that some of the items have been omitted by the scribe.

The earlier travellers know little of the expenditure of the Shahs. Alessandri, 226, does not go beyond stating that the expenditure "which actually comes from the treasury is very small" as the king has to pay only 5,000 qurchis, who act as bodyguard; nor does he even pay them in money for he gives them uniforms and horses, putting on them whatever value he thinks fit in advance for their salaries.

Contrary to his valuable account of the Shah's Revenue, Chardin, V, 498, is very brief in estimating the Expenditure:

Kitchen and the "small" wardrobe	3.000.000
Workshops ("ateliers et galenes")	4.000.000
Household ("sa maison et tout son tram")	10.000.000
Troops paid by the Shah	13.000.000
Harem	4.000.000
	34.000.000

Chardin omits to say in what currency he reckons this expenditure. Apparently he does it in livres toumois, in which case the total would be equivalent to about 750.000 tomans This is an evident contradiction of Chardin's estimate of the balance which we shall consider below.

Kaempfer, 97, is entirely at a loss to estimate the annual expenditure of Persia and, in despair, winds up with an exclamation: Quis ea determinabit?

(C) Balance (tables II and III)

To 785.623 t. 8809 d. of revenue our source counts 625.273 t. 6000 d. of expenditure, the excess of revenue over expenditure being 160.350 t. 2809 d., or *circa* 20 per cent. of the total revenue. From a purely financial point of view this is a very creditable achievement on the part of the responsible authorities, but the revelations of our source fall very short of what Chardin says in his book, V, 414, namely, that the Shah "does not spend a twentieth (*sic*) part of what enters his Treasury," and that therefore he is "le plus riche monarque de l'Univers."[1] On the other hand, Chardin reports a Persian saying that the Shah spends daily 1000 tomans while he receives 1200 tomans. This *vox populi* reflects truly enough the excess of the Shah's

1 According to Sanson, 102, the Shah, after deduction of expenses ("tous frais faits"), had every year 800.000 tomans, or 28.000.000 livres (this latter sum being wrong, for Sanson himself reckons 1 t. = 45 livres, cf. the customs of Gilan 80.000 t., or 3.600.000 livres).

revenue over his expenditure, but in absolute figures (365.000 t. and 438.000 t.) it is surely an understatement.

No European was ever allowed to penetrate far beyond the threshold of the Shah's Treasury,[1] but some unexpected light comes from an Oriental source. In his "History of the Kurds," Sharaf-khan of Bitlis says that, on his appointment as *amīr al-umarā-yi Akrād* he was commissioned by Shah Ismāʿīl II,[2] to make an inventory of the Treasury and the other property (*bayt al-māl va sāʾir al-amvāl*) of Shah Tahmāsp (d. 15 May, 1576). The author insists on the extreme parsimony (*ḥirṣ*) of the late Shah,[3] saying that, since Chingiz khan's time, no sovereign had ever amassed such a quantity of cash money (*nuqud*) and precious textiles, vases, etc., and then gives the following list:

Gold and silver in coins or "obliterated"[4]	380.000	tomans
Ingots (*khisht*) of gold and silver, each weighing 3000 mithqāls	600	ingots
Overcoats (*sar-pūsh*) of gold and silver [brocade]	800	pieces
Silk (*harīr*)	200	kharvārs
Robes (*jāma va farāja*) made of precious stuffs	30.000	pieces
Arms and equipment (*yarāq*), consisting of *jubba* (breastplates), *jaushan* (coats of mail), *kajīm* (protective coats heavily padded with silk), *bargustuvān* (ditto for horses), all ready in the *jabba-khāna* (arsenal) for	30.000	horse
She-camels	3.000	heads
Arab mares	3.000	heads
The Shah's own riding horses in stables	200	heads
For memory:		
Workshops and buyūtāt, such as kitchen, farrāsh-khāna, rikāb-khāna, etc.		
Taxes (*māl-va-kharāj*), at some places of Āzarbayjān, Shīrvān and Arrān, had not been collected for 7–9 years, having been left on the responsibility of the raʿiyat and tributaries (*ahl-i dhimma*, "Christians"?)		

Certain important articles, like jewels, are not shown in Sharaf al-dīn's report. On the other hand, the taxes neglected for so many years were hardly an asset, and the liabilities were also considerable.[5] In any case, the matter-of-fact report which

1 See Chardin, V, 430–3, on his visit to the Treasury: in one room he saw some 3000 bags containing 50 t. each.

2 *Sharaf-nāma*, ed. Vehammov-Zemov, I, 453, II, 251–2.

3 The Venetian ambassador d'Alessandri, 217, 220, quotes striking examples of Tahmāsp's avarice. He bought textiles in Khorasan and Aleppo and then gave them in payment to the soldiers at ten times the value. He acted as usurer by giving his servants loans of 20–50,000 scudi at 20 per cent, per year, whereas they lent this money at 60–80 per cent, to the nobles of the Court awaiting rank and appointments, etc.

4 *Mutatallis*, perhaps coins ready but not yet stamped?

5 *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 489, with some malice: "in the days of Shah Tahmāsp the tranquillity of the raʿiyat was perfect. His Majesty did not send governors (*dārūgha*); therefore, war was

seems to cover the whole of the Shah's resources (viz. both Dīvān and Khāṣṣa), is far from countenancing Chardin's rose-coloured picture. Under Ismāʿīl II and Muḥammad Khudā-banda the Treasury had to pay the arrears of the army so that men without any distinction (*majhūl*) received 100–220 tomans in cash (*ʿayn al-māl*).[1] It is possible that ʿAbbās I and his successors did increase the reserves of the Treasury. According to Olearius, 669, Shah ʿAbbās left 3600 pounds of gold vessels (Engl. tr. 7200 marks). On the other hand, the new troops also required some additional expense, and surely the proportion of Revenue and Expenditure could not rise to 20:1.

Our analysis shows what a valuable source we possess in the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, which enriches our knowledge of Safavid Persia in a most conspicuous way. If our "budget" is not so explicit as we should like it to be, we should remember that even in Europe the idea of a rigorous budget (in the technical sense) belongs to very recent times.[2]

The resources of the Shahs of Persia can be best appraised by comparison with the revenue of a great European state. For the period round about the year 1700, roughly corresponding to the date of the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, A. Moreau de Jonnès[3] estimated the annual revenue of the French treasury at 365,000,000 francs. The cost of collecting this sum represented an additional levy on the population amounting to 122,000,000 francs. Moreover, enormous sums were obtained from arbitrary expedients, such as the deterioration of coins, the introduction of paper money, the sale of offices, loans, confiscations, etc. For the period of 1700–1715 some 1,500 million francs were collected in this way, i.e. roughly 100 million per year (1 franc of the period representing 1.6 fr. of 1867). Consequently the amount yearly contributed by the French people was equal to 355 + 122 + 100 = 577 million francs. Meanwhile France had a population of 19 millions, of whom 91 per cent, were proletarians.

The 785,623 t. of registered Persian revenue represent a sum of 35,745,846.6 livres, i.e. about ⅒ of the regular French taxation alone. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Persian population could not exceed one-half of that of France and possibly was considerably lower. Nor can the data of the *T.M.* be as exhaustive as the French statistics. The lower classes suffered greatly from various kinds of exactions and corvées, yet the whole system could not compare with the

perpetually (!) going on among the raʿīyats of Āzarbāyjān. The army was so disposed towards the Shah that for 14 years he did not pay their salaries, and yet no one complained and they were assiduous in their service." On the situation in Āzarbāyjān, *ibid.*, 455: some local rebels were masters of Tabriz for two years. These facts receive an interesting confirmation from the ambassador d'Alessandri's report.

1 *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 481, 503.

2 Cf. H. Sée, *Französische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Jena, 1936, II, 98.

3 *Etat économique et social de la France*, 1589–1715, Paris, 1867. The author gives the following items of the revenue in millions of francs: tailles, 90; capitation, 41; dixième (tithe), 50; gabelles, 41; aides, 28; domaines d'occident, contrôle, 40; douanes ou traites, 25; impôts divers, 50; totalling 365 million francs.

extortions of the *ancien régime*, as definitely stated by Chardin, who was equally at home in the affairs of his own country and Persia.[1]

1 A comparison between the budgets of Persia and England is less easy. S. Dowell, *A History of Taxation and Taxes in England*, 1884, II, 65, thinks that at the end of the reign of William III (circa 1702), the produce of the revenue from taxes "may be taken at about four millions and a quarter. The interest of the debt was now 1,174,000£. The average naval and military expenditure from 1698–1700 had been 1,299,000£." In the second edition of the book, 1888, II, 62, the author estimates the revenue in 1702 as follows:

Land tax at 2 sh.		£1,000,000
Other direct taxes		250,000
Inland duties varying in different years:	1700 over	1,000,000
	1702	1,400,000
Port duties:	1693	688,000
	After the war	1,500,000
Stamp duties		94,000

Meanwhile the population of England was: in 1672, 5,500,000, and in 1712, 6,280,000, see Mulhall, *The Dict. of Statistics*, 1899, p. 444.

APPENDICES

[*Note.*—I have relegated to this section of the book some subsidiary matters whichby themselves would merit detailed investigation and require much preliminary research in the sources. For the moment they can only be treated in a general way; but even such hints and suggestions may prove not unwelcome to the future explorers of Persian history.]

I. Iranians and Turks
II. The Supporters of the Lords of Arbadil
III. Land-Tenure in Persia
IV. Routine of Official Instances
V. The language and Style of the *T.M.*
VI. Additional Selections of Literature

I

Iranians and Turks

From the beginning of the tenth century A.D. the basic fact of the social and political organisation of Persia has been the dual character of its population, namely, the opposition between the native Iranians (both the sedentary inhabitants of towns and villages and the semi-nomad mountaineers)—on one hand, and the Turk invaders and new-comers (either warriors or cattle-breeders)—on the other.

The establishment of a balance between the two elements was a trying problem of administration, but, in spite of the disparity of material force, the contest usually ended in the gradual absorption of the stronger Turks by the more cultured Iranians.

The stages of Turkish influx in Persia may be resumed briefly as follows.

In the beginning of the eleventh century the Ghuz (Turcoman) tribes, which had been gathering strength in Transoxiana, swept over Persia, occupied the regions most suitable for cattle-breeding and succeeded in Turkicising large areas in the North-West.

The Khwārazmian domination (1194–1220) was too short to bring any permanent changes and the Khwarazmian Turks[1] had to seek refuge as far as Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt.[2]

1 Most probably with an admixture of elements still speaking the ancient Iranian language of Khwarazm, the traces of which disappear only towards the end of the 14th century.

2 On the extermination of 6,000 Khwarazmians in Tabriz in 621/1224, see I. Athīr, XII, 272, cf. also d'Ohsson, III, 67. After the death of Jalāl al-dīn, great numbers of Khwārazmians gathered in upper Mesopotamia round Ḥarrān (*bilāduhum wa hiya Ḥarrān*), whence they were harassing Syria and behaving "like Tatars" until finally the Ayyūbid Ibrāhim of Ḥims on one hand and Badr al-dīn of Mauṣil utterly defeated them in 638. A second time they were beaten on the Khābūr in 640; see Abul-Fidā, ed. Reiske, Iv, 455–61, 469 (in the editor's note 310, Khwārazmians seem to be confused with Khorasanians). On the fugitive Kh. chiefs to whom fiefs were

Nor did the Mongols affect the situation fundamentally. There was only a limited number of pure Mongols in the West; many of them fell in battle and the rest were rapidly assimilated by the local population. In any case, the Mongols strengthened the position of the Turks whom they found on the spot, either by adding to them some new Turkish elements of their army, or by supporting the Turks, who by their language and mode of life were looked upon as the Mongols' cousins.[1] In Persia proper, the Mongolian language did not survive,[2] nor have the Central Asian Turkish dialects left any considerable traces, except in the historical works of the period. The same can be said of the short domination of the Timurids whose Chaghatay Turkish met with no success west of Herat.

On the contrary, the domination of the two Turcoman dynasties, the Qaraqoyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu, drew back to the east the numerous tribes which, at the Seljuk period, had moved farther into Armenia, Upper Mesopotamia and Anatolia. This amounted to a reunion of parts of the same Ghuz nation and a further saturation of Persia with Turcoman elements. Whatever the role of the Safavids in the awakening of the national feeling of Persia,[3] the beginning of the dynasty can be represented, not inaccurately, as a third wave of the eastward movement of the Turcomans.[4] The great majority of Shah Ismāʿīl I's supporters belonged to the tribes from Asia Minor, Syria and Armenia mixed with the tribes detached from the rival Qaraqoyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu. Even the divan of poems composed by Ismāʿīl under the *nom de plume* of Khaṭāʾī[5] is in Turcoman Turkish. From his time down to the last period of his successors this dialect was the language of the court.[6]

The old army of the Safavids (*qurchi*) was recruited among the Turcomans, "une vieille race de bons soldats, gens robustes et économes qui vivent à la campagne entre eux, sans se mêler avec les autres hommes, et qui sont ces pâtres ou bergers sarrasins, qui ont tant de fois changé l'état de la Perse. … Ce sont eux proprement qu'on appelle *Qizil-bash, ou têtes rouges."[7] No contemporary European

allotted in Asia Minor, see Ibn Bībī, Persian text, ed. Houtsma, pp. 188, 191.

1 Ibn al-Athīr, XII, 252, says that beyond Darband the Mongols were met by the Alāns and Qipchāq. The Mongols said to the Qipchāq: "You and we are one race (*naḥnu wa antum jinsun wāḥidun*), but these Alāns do not belong to you that you should help them; nor is your religion like theirs." The Qipchāq abandoned the Alāns, but later the Mongols turned against them.

2 The only Iranian region in which some islands of Mongolians have survived is among the Hazāras, in the north-western corner of Afghanistan, see Ramstedt, *Mongolica*, Helsingfors, 1905.

3 By its isolation from the loose context of "Islamic peoples."

4 V.s., p. 33.

5 See Minorsky, The poetry of Shāh Ismāʿil, in *BSOS*, X/4.

6 Chardin, V, 30: "C'est par ce peuple (Qizil-bash) que la langue turquesque s'est si fort introduite dans la partie septentrionale de Perse et surout à la cour qu'on y parle beaucoup plus Turquesque que Persan." Kaempfer, I, 144: "Lingua Aulae Turcica est nimirum stirpi Regiae vernacula, atque alia quam nationis; quandoquidem Ismaël Sophi cum sceptra capesseret, sodalitio Turcicae gentis suae stipatus, loqui earn non desiit. Ex Aula mox ad praestantiores Persarum familias… ita dimanavit, ut pene nunc turpe sit in Persia viro alicuius nominis ignorare Turcicam." Both P. della Valle and du Mans compiled short manuals of the "Court Turkish."

7 Chardin, V, 299–300.

traveller seems to have sojourned among the Turcomans, but we may confidently accept that the ways of the Turcomans under the Safavids had not changed since 1474 when the Venetian ambassador Giosafà Barbaro wrote down his vivid impressions of Uzun Ḥasan's hordes.[1] The Shah-sevans of Mughān, Sāva, etc. have preserved to our own time the habits and customs of their ancestors. As Chardin states, the Turcomans lived apart from the surrounding population. They were cattle-breeders migrating with their herds and flocks from the summer quarters to the winter ones. They were organised in clans and obeyed the call of their direct chieftains. They were no party to the national Persian tradition. Like oil and water, the Turcomans and Persians did not mix freely and the dual character of the population profoundly affected both the military and civil administration of Persia. It is true that the Safavids had converted their Turcoman adherents to their creed, but with their help, Persia as a whole had to be conquered. For some time to come the Shah's henchmen formed the privileged class of aristocracy and the long and painful process of their assimilation and absorption is the very nerve of the political evolution from Ismāʿīl I to ʿAbbās I, which we have indicated in the Introduction.

II

The Supporters of the Lords of Arbadil

When, towards the end of the thirteenth century A.D., we first come to know the lords of Ardabīl, they are highly respected shaykhs leading a contemplative life, spending their time in prayers and fasting, and credited with supernatural powers. In the middle of the fifteenth century the Shīʿa extremism creeps into the order and the young shaykhs consider themselves as the direct emanations of the godhead. They dream of holy wars and expeditions against the infidels and their activities, from militant, grow frankly military. Shah Ismāʿīl's grandfather, father and eldest brother had fallen in battle,[2] before he reaped the fruit of the new policy. He succeeded in founding a state by imposing a new religious and political creed on the local Iranian population and by further controlling the latter through a new class of tribal aristocracy.

The more important stages of this development are well known.[3] Many details are and will remain obscure but the available sources contain a mass of important sidelights which give us an idea of the growth of the Safavid propaganda and the elements out of which the fabric of the Safavid state was woven.

1 Hakluyt Society, Vol. 49, 1873, 6–8.

2 See Hinz, *Aufstieg*, 47, 81, 88, 96. Some echo of Shaykh Ḥaydar's first expedition to the Northern Caucasus (1483) has apparently survived in the report of a black friar taken down by G. Barbara, Hakluyt Society, 1873, p. 89.

3 A number of points has been studied by Babinger, *Scheich Bedr ad-din*, in *Der Islam*, IX, 1921, and Seddon, *Aḥsanuʿt-tawārīkh*, II, 1934, 221–2. A good general survey is found in Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg*, 77–9. Ghulām Sarwar's *History of Shah Ismāʿīl*, Aligarh, 1939, is helpful for tracing up single facts.

The well informed author of the *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*[1] says that Shaykh Ṣafī was supported "by the amirs of the vilāyat of Tālish … and the magnates (*kubarā*) of Rūm (i.e., Asia Minor). The "army of Tālish … and the people of Rūm" are again mentioned under Shaykh Ṣadr al-dīn.[2]

The huge compilation called *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā* quotes numerous stories on Shaykh Ṣafī's canvassing among his murids in the vast area round Ardabīl. More interesting are the facts attesting his close relations to the Mongol amirs and noblemen, and quite particularly with the powerful Amir Choban.[3]

Under his grandson Sulṭān-'Alī, we have more direct indications of the threads drawn from Ardabīl to the far-away Anatolia. When after his campaign in Asia Minor, Timur was passing through Ardabīl,[4] he told Sulṭān-'Alī to crave a boon. The Shaykh begged for the liberation of the prisoners of Rūm, and Timur freed them all (*majmū*) and appointed them to the service of the family of Ardabīl. He also issued an order (*raqam*) to the rulers (*salātīn*) and governors of Rūm to the effect that the men whom he had freed "and who are the Sūfīs of the Safavid family," wherever they be, should not be oppressed (*dast-andāz*) or prevented from visiting (*āmad-u-shud*) their Murshid; they must be exempted from payments to their masters, as well as from government taxes (*vujūhāt-i ra'iyatī va tahmīlāt-i divānī*). Out of his own lawful money Timur bought fields and villages in the neighbourhood of Ardabil and allotted them as vaqf to the resting place (*mazār*) of Shaykh Ṣafī, which he recognised as a *bast* (asylum). He also made over to the Safavid family the land taxes (*kharāj*) of the said vilāyat. To those of the prisoners who expressed the desire to return to Rūm permission was granted to do so. Shaykh Sulṭān-'Alī (*janāb-i sulṭānī*) appointed his representatives (*khalīfa va-pīra*) to all the tribes (*oymāqāt*) and said: "let your comings and goings be not infrequent, for the advent (*khurūj*) of the righteous Duodeciman religion is nigh and you must be ready to sacrifice your lives."[5] To this version the *Silsilat*, p. 43, adds that the Anatolian prisoners were settled near the cemetery of Ganja-ba-kūl and their descendants became known as Ṣūfiyān-i Rūmlū.[6]

Much more definite is our information on the propaganda tours of Shaykh

1 Bib. Nat., ancien fonds persan 101, ff. 121–122.

2 It is noteworthy however that Safī al-din's verses quoted in the *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā* and the *Silsila* are either in a local Iranian dialect or in Persian, but not in Turkish! See S. A. Kisravi, *Zabān-i bāstān-i Adharbāyagān*, Tehran, 1304/1926.

3 *Ṣ.-Safā*, Bombay, 1329, 125, cf. also *Sharaf-nāma*, II, 132. This did not prevent the tyrannous Chobanid Malik-Ashraf from imprisoning Shaykh Ṣadr al-dīn, *Silsila*, 42.

4 This must have happened in Shavvāl, 806/April, 1404. *Ẓafar-nāma*, II, 573, merely mentions Timur's stay at Ardabil, but Timur's benevolence to all kinds of holy men is a well-known fact.

5 The anonymous history of Shāh Ismā'īl, Camb. Add. 200, f. 10b. The initial parts of this important source (= Br. Mus. Or. 3248) were published by Sir D. Ross in the JRAS, April, 1896, 249–340. In the beginning of the account of Shāh Ismā'īl's reign the *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* closely follows the same source.

6 Camb. Add. 200, f. 18a, Ross, 18, confirms the existence in Ardabīl of a *maḥalla-yi Rūmiyān* in which the boy Ismā'īl was hidden by a Dhul-Qadar woman.

ʿAlī's grandson and Shah Ismāʿīl's grandfather.[1] About A.D. 1448–56, Shaykh Junayd being expelled from Ardabīl entered into relations with Sulṭan Murād II (A.D. 1421–51). He visited the still independent Qarāmān, then the Turcoman tribe of Varsāq in Cilicia, then Jabal-Arsūs in the northernmost part of Syria (near the Gulf of Alexandretta),[2] then Jānīq (Samsun) on the Black Sea. He even carried out a raid on Trebizond but met with no success (A.D. 1456).[3] Thereupon he moved to the region of Ḥiṣn-Kayfā on the Tigris and finally was invited by the Aq-qoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan to Diyār-Bakr, where he spent three whole years (1456–9). Junayd married Uzun Ḥasan's sister and when "this news reached the farthest limits of Rūm and Syria, the khalīfas of the previous shaykhs became inclined to serve him" *Tarīkh-i Amīnī*, f. 123b.

The propaganda concerning the divinity of Shah Ismāʿīl's father, Shaykh Ḥaydar, is attributed by the same source, f. 125v, to "the ignoramuses of Rūm, that erring crowd of fiendish imagination" (f. 125v). Ḥaydar was supported by the khalīfas of his father, who were pouring in from all parts, while the "excessive obeisance of the men of Rūm" affected his morals unfavourable (f. 126r). During the preparation of his first expedition to Daghestan "a great number of men of Rūm, Tālish and Siyāh-kūh (= Qarāja-dagh)" gathered round him (f. 127r), and this levy is further described as "the blue-clad people of Tālish, the ill-starred people of Siyāh-kūh[4] and the unclean lot from among the Shāmlū (f. 30a)." The last name most probably refers to Ḥasan-agha Ustājalu, "who was one of the amirs of Shāmlū" (f. 139r). The desperate valour of "the infidel sūfīs of Rūmī origin" is recorded in the description of Ḥaydar's last battle.

These quotations show that, although the shaykhs of Ardabīl were supported by the local elements of Tālish[5] and Qarāja-dagh, their most fanatic supporters were recruited among the Turcomans of Rum (Asia Minor) and Shām (Syria).

After Ḥaydar's death, his son Sulṭān-ʿAlī played some part under the Aq-qoyunlu Rustam. In a battle which he fought victoriously against the latter's rival Baysunqur he had on his right wing Ḥusayn beg Shāmlū Lala and Rustam beg Qarāmānlū, and on his left wing Dada beg Tālish (= Abdāl ʿAlī beg) and Khādim beg Khalīfa, Camb. MS., 16a, Ross, 10. As the followers began to gather round

1 The chief authority for these exploits is *ʿĀshiqpāshā-zāde*, ed. Istanbul, 1332, pp. 264–7. In the story relating to Junayd's stay in Qonya, the author (or his source) uses the first person.

2 *ʿĀshiq-pāshā-zāde*, 266, says that Junayd moved on among Turkish nomads (*yürükde yürürken*) and, on the road, plundered a certain Üzeyr-oghlu.

3 Hinz, *o.c.*, 29, 37.

4 The "blue-clad" people must be the peasants dressed in home-spuns. I could not ascertain who were the *gökdolaq* whom Evliyā-chelebi, II, 290, met in Shirvan, and. who have left some traces in the toponymy of the district. The reference to the people of Siyāh-kūh (Qarājadagh) apparently hints at the local celebrity, Bābak.

5 By Tālish may be meant a region larger than the present area along the coast of the Caspian. According to the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (written A.D. 1340), GMS, 84, Kalaybar (in Qarāja-dagh) has "a mixed population of Turks and Tālish," and that of *Gīlān-i Fadlūn" consisted of 50 villages of Tālish." As suggested by B. V. Miller, *Uchen. Zap.*, I, 1930, 199–228, the dialectal poems by Shaykh Safī, quoted in our sources, may be in medieval Tālishī. The highlands of Tālish are occupied by the spirited tribe of Gālish, who sometimes took the highway Ardabīl-Astārā.

Sulṭān-ʿAlī he became suspect. Feeling that his end was approaching he appointed Ismāʿīl as his successor and sent him to Ardabīl with Ḥusayn Lala, Qara-pīrī beg Qājār, Abdālbeg and (?) Dada beg Tālish. In Ardabil Ismāʿīl was hidden by some relatives and faithful friends, and then taken by Rustam beg Qarāmānlū to the village of Karkān (?) in the Baghrow mountains.[1] On the advice of the faithful Mangūr beg Qipchāqī, Ḥusayn Lala, Qiriq (?) Sīdī ʿAlī,[2] Cholpan beg, Khādim beg Khalīfa, Dada beg, Kök-ʿAli beg etc., the protection of the Governor of Rasht Amīr Ishaq was sought for Ismāʿīl. He was escorted to Gīlān by Rustam beg, Mufammadī beg Turkmān, the latter's brother Ahmadi and 80 ṣūfīs. On the way through Tālish, Ismāʿīl was hospitably treated by the governors of Tūl-i Nāv and Gaskar. As the governor of Rasht was not in a position to protect Ismāʿīl, the ṣūfīs took their ward to Lāhījān, where he was entrusted to the care of the governor Kār-kiyā Mīrzā ʿAli. Ismāʿīl stayed six years in Lāhījān, tiding over the period of internecine strife of the Aq-qoyunlu. The ṣūfīs were flocking in from all sides, especially from Rūm, Qarājadagh and Ahar.[3] Ismāʿīl remained in touch with Ardabil. Ḥusayn beg Lala, Khādim beg [Khalīfat al-] Khulafā and Dada beg, who were in attendance on him, formed his little court.

At the age of thirteen, Ismāʿīl decided to return to Ardabīl, and was accompanied thither by Ḥusayn-beg Lala, Abdāl ʿAlī beg Dada, Khādim beg Khulafā, Rustam beg and Bayram beg Qarāmānlū, Ilyās beg Ayghūt-oghlī (Khinislu) and Qara-pīrī Qājār. He travelled over Daylam and, on the road, ṣūfīs from Shām and Rūm were joining the party. At the first muster held at Tārom, 1500 ṣūfīs stood under his banner, Camb. MS., 27a, Ross, 26. No sooner did Ismāʿīl reach Ardabīl, than he had to leave for the shores of the Caspian sea where he enjoyed the hospitality of Muḥammad beg Tālish.[4]

From Tālish Ismāʿīl penetrated into the mountainous region of Qarabāgh (north of the Araxes). When, accompanied by 1000 men, he reached the neighbourhood of Lake Gökchä-dängiz (Sevang), some friendly advances were made to him by Sulhān-Ḥusayn Bārānī, a descendant of the Qara-qoyunlu rulers,[5] but Ismāʿīl distrusted him and passed on to Shūra-gel, where he was joined by Qarāja-Ilyās (of Bāyburt) and the ṣūfīs of Rūm. Over Qāqizmān (on the Araxes) he pushed on to Arzinjān, at which place he was met by 7,000 murids and ṣūfīs belonging to the tribes of Ustājalu, Shāmlu, Rūmlu, Takkalu, Dhul-Qadar, Afshār,

1 Camb. MS., f. 188. The Baghrow range runs westward from Savalān Mt. and to the north of the Ardabīl-Tabriz road. K.rkān is very possibly a mis-spelling of **Karkār*, the latter being now the name of the river flowing down the northern slope of Baghrow to the south-west of Khiyov.

2 A sept of Afshars is called Qïrïqlu.

3 Ahar is the new capital of Qarāja-dāgh, but here it is probably distinguished from the more northerly part of the district.

4 In the spring he spent a night at the house of Naushīr-beg Tālish, governor of Mūghān; Ross, p. 31.

5 Camb. MS., f. 30a, *A.T.*, 25. *Sharaf-nāma*, II, 134, says that after the winter spent at Arjuvān Ismāʿīl journeyed "towards Minkūl and entered the tribe of Ustājlu" which gave him 7,000 men. **Min-ġōl*, "A thousand lakes," see Minorsky, *Jour. As.*, juillet, 1930, pp. 107–11, lies at the sources of the Kur. It is possible that Sharaf-khān has telescoped here several episodes.

Qājār and Varsāq, as well as by the ṣūfīs of Qarāja-dagh. Among the leaders were Muḥammad beg Ustājalu, with 200 of his family and dependents, and ʿĀbidīn beg Shāmlu with 300 men. At about the same time Bayrām-beg Qarāmānī is mentioned as leading a detachment of Dhul-Qadar to the river Kur.[1]

At the decisive battle of Sharūr (907/1501) where Ismāʿīl, with his 7,000 horse (see above), defeated the Aq-qoyunlu Alvand and his army of 30,000 horse, those supporters of the Shah whose origins are indicated were Bayrām-beg Qarāmānlū, Khulafā and Muḥammad beg Ustājalu, ʿAbdī beg Shāmlu, Qarāja Ilyās Bayburtlu and Pīrī beg Qājār, Camb. MS., 41b, *A.T.*, 59.

At the battle with Sulṭan Murād Aq-qoyunlu (near Hamadan, 908/1503) Ismāʿīl disposed of 12,000 horse and was supported by the same amirs, with the addition of Mansūr beg Qipchāqi, Yägän beg Täkkälü, etc., Camb. MS., 50b, *A.T.*, 66. Soon after the battle, the "Turkmān" chiefs of Azarbayjan were defeated by Ilyās beg Ayghūt-oghlī (Khinislu), *A.T.*, 70, which fact may account for the subsequent increase of the "Turkmān" in Ismāʿīl's suite.

Relations with the Dhul-Qadar had probably been established in Shaykh Junayd's time. In 193/1507, Ismāʿīl led an important expedition against ʿAlā al-daula, lord of Albistan. In 928/1522 a considerable number of Dhul-qadar having quarrelled with the Ottomans, joined the Shah, who sent a part of them to Herat and another part to Shiraz, Camb. MS., 181b.

As a result of the expedition of 913/1507 Amir beg Mauṣillu,[2] the hereditary ruler of the tribe, rallied Ismāʿīl. The tribe closely connected with the Aq-qoyunlu must have had its quarters near Mauṣil, but Amīr-beg was governor of Diyār-Bakr. The rest of the Mauṣillu who remained sunni were defeated by Muḥammad-khan Ustājlu, Camb. MS., 74a, *A.T.*, 58 and 93.

In the battle of Marv (916/1510) fought against Shaybak khan the commanders on the side of Ismāʿīl were: Najm al-Thānī, Bayrām-beg Qarāmāni, Chāyān ("scorpion")-sulṭān Ustājalu, Dīv-sulhān Rūmlu, Bādanjān-sulhān Rūmlu, Ḥusayn beg Lala, Abdāl ʿAlī beg Dada, Durmish khan and Zaynal khan Shāmlu, Amir khan Maugillu, Mirzā Mufammad Tālish, Camb. MS., 111a , *A.T.*, 117, 120. In this list we find mostly the same names and clans, with one notable exception: for the first time, a Persian Najm al-Thānī, by his real name Amīr Yār Aḥmad Khūzāni Isfahānī, plays an active part, in military operations.[3]

In the battle of Chaldïran (920/1514) the Shah's generals were Durmish khan Shāmlu, Khalīl-sultān Dhul-Qadar, Ḥusayn beg Lala, Nūr ʿAlī Khalīfa Rūmlu, holder of the tiyūl of Arzinjān (who in 918, with 3–4000 ṣūfīs and murīds of Rūm devastated Toqat), Khulafā beg, Khan-Muhammad Ustājalu, Chayan-sulṭān Ustājalu (with the troops of Diyārbakr). The centre was held by Amīr ʿAbd al-bāqī, a

1 See Camb. MS., f. 32a, where "the high tribe of Shāmlu" is quoted before Ustājlu. *A.T.*, 25–42, has reproduced this important passage, which is absent from the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 397.

2 Sharaf al-dīn of Bidlīs was born in Persia of a daughter of this "Amīr-khan" b. Gulābī b. Amīr-beg Mausillū, *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 448.

3 He was called Najm No. 2 in honour of his predecessor Najm No. 1, and was killed in 918/1512.

former Ṣadr (of the family of the saint Shah Niʿmat-ullāh, of Kermān), Sayyid Aḥmad Kamūna, an Arab of Hīt (v.s., p. 15), and Amīr Sayyid Sharīf Shīrazī, a former Ṣadr, while the light advance guard was under the orders of Sārū-Pīra Qūrchī-bashi. Other amirs mentioned in the battle were Mantashā-sulṭān Ustājalu, Khizr-āghā Ustājalu and Sulṭan ʿAlī-mīrzā Afshār, *ibid*., 136.

After this date many faithful amirs receive fiefs and governorships in the outlying provinces and their connection with the bulk of their respective tribes becomes problematic. We shall only add that the first Bahārlu of importance (of Qaraqoyunlu origin!), a former officer (*mulāzim*) of Dīv-sulṭān, is mentioned in the *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* under 922/1516.

These details shed much light on Ismāʿīl's methods in building up his might.[1]

At the beginning he is supported by the local population of the region of Ardabil and the faithful Turcomans of Asia Minor, Syria and Cilicia. Gradually heads of other clans and especially those of the Armenian highlands (Erzinjan, Bayburt) are mentioned in his suite. Each expedition to the West brings him new supporters and even some clans having formerly belonged to the Qara-qoyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu federations are incorporated in the Safavid army. Finally purely Iranian supporters are rallied to the throne. Of them Najm II displayed much courage in the operations against the Uzbeks but fell victim of his fanaticism near Bukhara in November, 1512. Three divines of non-Turcoman origin were in charge of Ismāʿīl's centre at Chaldïran. They do not seem to have won any particular laurels but their presence at an important post symbolises the gradual widening of the basis of Shah Ismāʿīl's power.

The current lists of the tribes which were the mainstay of the early Safavids are only approximate. The most complete of them is that of Don Juan de Persia, who enumerates as many as 32 noble families and tribes (linajes y naciones) in whose hands the government is placed.[2] Don Juan's naive equations between them and the Spanish dukes, counts and marquesses (quoted *d*., *c*., *m*.) have some interest as indicating the comparative importance of the tribes:

1. Vstaxelu (*Ustājlu, Ustājelu), the most important of the tribes.
2. Xamblu (*Shāmlu), comparable in rank to the "mayordomo mayor."
3. Afxar (*Afshār), the high lords of justice.
4. Turcomanos (*Türkmän), military commanders related by marriage to the kings.
5. Bayat (Don Juan's own tribe), most noble and comparable to dukes.
6. Thacalu (Täkälü), *d.*
7. Harmandal (?), *m.*
8. Dulgadarlu (Arabicised *Dhul-qadar)*, very valiant men, *d.*

The other clans are only briefly referred to:

1 The tribal connection of the amīrs of Tahmāsp, ʿAbbās I and Ṣafī has been studied above, p. 15–p. 21.

2 I use the original edition of the *Relaciones*, Valladolid, 1604, p. 9b–10a; English translation by Le Strange, 1926, pp. 45–6.

9. Cacher (*Qājār), *d.*
10. Garamanlu (*Qaramanlu), *d.*
11. Bayburtlu, *c.*
12. Ispyrrhlu (*Ispirlū), *c.*
13. Oriath (*Oryād), *c.*
14. Chaushlu, *d.*
15. Assayshlu (*ʿĀlam-ārā*: Āsāyish-oghlï).
16. Chamizcazaclu, *c.* (*Chamish-gäzäklü).
17. Sarozolachlu, *c.* (*ʿĀlam-ārā*: sīrūz?).
18. Carabachaclu, *c.* (*Qara-bajaqlu).
19. Barachlu (?), *c.*
20. Cuiniorilu, *c.* (*Qoyin-?).
21. Griclu, *c.* (*Qiriqlu).
22. Boschalu, *c.* (*Bozchalu).
23. Acbifaquilu, *c.* (*ʿĀlam-ārā*: Māhī-faqīhlū).
24. Ambzalu, *c.* (*Hamzalu).
25. Solachlu, *c.* (*Solaqlu?).
26. Mamudlu. *c.* (*Maḥmūdlu).
27. Garachomaclu, *c.* (*Qara-chomaqlu).
28. Garagoinlu, *c.* (*Qara-qoyinlu).
29. Cossi Boyezlu, *d.* (*Köse-Bāyizlu?)
30. Peyclu, *d.* (?).
31. Ynazlu, *d.* (*Inanlu?).
32. Cohequilu, *d.* (*Kūh-gīlū? v.s., p. 172).

In this list the important groups are Nos. 1–6, 8 and 9, the remaining names referring to smaller subdivisions and clans. P. della Valle knew the book of D. Juan and a mullā promised him to look up in the King's archives (nei libri del Re) the names of the 32 tribes, but finally failed to do so, *ibid.*, 864. The *ʿĀlam-ārā*, v.s., p. 16, speaks only of the principal tribes, under which some of their subdivisions are mentioned.

From a MS. (probably the *Zubdat al-tavārīkh* of *Kamāl-khān b. Jalāl, cf. Storey, *Pers. lit.*, 130), Sir John Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, Ch. XIV, quotes a list of 7 tribes, viz. Ustājlu, Shāmlu, Takkalu, Bahārlu, Zulqadar, Qajar and Afshar. Munejjim-bashi's record, III, 182, contains 8 Turcoman tribes (Ustajlu, Shamlu, Takkalu, Rumlu, Varsaq, Dhul-qadar, Afshar, Qajar) plus the Sufis of Qarā-bāgh. Muḥammad Muḥsin, *Z.T.*, f. 182a, gives the same list, omitting only the Varsaq (of whom in fact very few have been known in Parsia).[1]

The names of the principal clans are either those of the old Ghuz (Turkman) tribes, cf. Maḥmud Kāshghari, I, 56, and Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 32–8, etc. (Afshar, Bayat, Dulghadir, Varsaq), or are derived from place-names with the aid of the possessive particle *-lu*.[2] The Safavids drained into their movement many western Turcoman tribes affected by the Shiʿa propaganda and opposed to the Ottoman orthodoxy.[3] Such is the origin of the Rūm-lu, Shām-lu, etc. Particularly interesting are the Täkkä-lü (see *Teke-eli* by Babinger in *E.I.*). In 1510 a dervish called Bābā-shāh-quli, whose family had a long connection with the Safavis, Ross, 80, revolted against the Ottomans. The movement was supported by *murīdān-i khānadān*, i.e., the adepts of the house of Ardabil. After the death of the Baba, his turbulent supporters sought refuge with Shāh Ismāʿīl. The Täkkälü forfeited their

1 Minadoi, 71, affirms that the right wing of the Persian army was held by the Ustajlu and the left wing by the Shamlu (Zambeluzes) together with the Takkalu (Tacaluzes), the latter not being considered good warriors. The centre was occupied by the king and the Afshars. The rearguard was formed by the descendants of a Calirchan (?), and the vanguard by the "people of Garibdiler" (?) and the Chiaperis (chapar, "messenger, courier"?).

2 Already P. Della Valle, p. 763, knew this fact.

3 See Babinger, *Sīrat Jalāl al-dīn*, 1921, p. 78, Köprülüzade M. Fuad, *Anadoluda Islamiyet* (unfortunately unfinished).

rights after the revolt of Ulāma who in 937/1531 threw in his lot with the Turks; see *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 125–6 and 231.

The name of Ustājlu, or Ustājalu, is still obscure ("Those of the little master"?). The tribe appears to have been connected with the Shamlu. Possibly their original ölgä lay somewhere in the region of Qars, see *Sharaf-nāma*, II, 134, cf. *A.T.*, 41, but in 913 their head Muḥammad-khan b. Mīrzā-beg Khalīfa, related to the shah by marriage, was appointed governor of Diyār-Bakr; Camb. MS., 73b.

The name of the Dhul-qadar is only an Arabic popular etymology for the original Turkish *Dulghadïr*, The great principality of the tribe was at Albistān (north of Mar'ash), but most probably single clans were scattered throughout Armenia. In later Safavid and post-Safavid times the Dhul-qadar centred near Ganja.

The name Bahārlu must be connected with the borough, Bahār (near Hamadan) which, according to the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, GMS, 107, was the centre of the Iva Turcomans, one of the original 24 Ghuz tribes. The Iva were also active in the region to the west of the lake of Urmiya.[1] It is probable that the tribe was affiliated to the Qara-qoyunlu federation, which possessed strong points both in Azarbayjan (cf. the canton Qara-qoyunlu in Mākū) and in Hamadan, where finally the Qara-qoyunlu were defeated by the Aq-qoynnlu.

The names of the lesser clans are derived chiefly from place-names, from the names of the leaders (Ḥamzalu, Āsāyish-oghlï) or from some nicknames (Qara-bajaqlu "with black thighs," Qara-chomaqlu "with black cudgels").

III

Land-Tenure in Persia

The problem of land-tenure in Persia is in itself a subject for a book. It cannot be solved on the basis of the so-called "Islamic institutions," which differed from country to country and, in our case, were only a juridical superstructure on the various local practices. Whatever the ancient Sasanian laws and the regulation of the earlier Islamic period might have been, one political factor dominates land-tenure in Persia, namely, the series of great Turco-Mongol invasions which occupy the period between A.D. 1000 and 1500. When so much depended on the good-will of rulers one could not expect the rights of individuals to crystallise into a stable system. Personal favours or confiscations often upset the existing rights, and the latter were bound to become attenuated and contingent.

In some cases the invaders may have re-adapted to their uses the precedents laid down by the spiritual power.

When in A.D. 1195 the Caliph sent 5000 horse to reoccupy some part of Iran evacuated by the Khwārazmshāh, the vazir Mu'ayyad al-dīn began to collect deeds

1 Nasawi, *Sīrat Jalāl al-dīn*, 126, 199, etc. A village Iva lies to the south of the road Ardabil-Tabriz. It is not impossible that the name of the large village Evoghlï (N.E. of Khoy) is a later popular etymology for the less comprehensive Iva.

(*qabāla*), saying that land (*zamīn*) belonged to the Caliph: "who is the person to have property" (*kasī ki bāshad ki milk dārad* (?).[1] After the fall of the Caliphate such ideas could have been easily taken up by the secular rulers and exploited in their own interest. Under the Mongols "the rights which in Islamic law belonged to the Imam were being transferred to the infidel conqueror."[2]

These preliminary remarks must be kept in mind as a background to Chardin's observations on land-tenure in Persia under the Safavids. He distinguishes four categories of lands: (*a*) the state lands, which were the majority; they were in the temporary possession of the governors, who assigned a part of them to their own staff; (*b*) the demesnes, i.e. the Shah's own lands; of them some formed the appanage of certain charges and the others were assigned to the members of the Private Household and the troops maintained by the Shah; (*c*) the lands belonging to the Church, i.e. the endowments (*vaqf*) of the Shahs or private persons; (*d*) the lands "belonging" to private persons. Here comes the interesting point. The owners kept them in their possession (*taṣarruf*) for 99 years, during which time they disposed of them as they pleased; at the end of this term the owners had to renew their rights ("on prend un nouveau bail") by paying a year's revenue to the King. On most of these lands the Shah levied a small annual rent ("tribut"), amounting to 40–50 sols per *jarīb*, while some lands were free even from this contribution.

Besides these categories of "lands being in use," there were the lands lying fallow. Those who wanted to occupy them needed a licence either from the governor, or from the Shah's representative ("intendant") according to the category of lands, v.s. (*a*) and (*b*). Chardin, V, 382, adds: "Mais parceque le roi est le maître du bien de l'etat, et qu'il le peut rendre bien de domaine quand il lui plaît, au lieu que les gouverneurs des proyinces n'en sauroient disposer qu' avec les intendans, qui sont les receveurs du roi; on peut dire que toutes les terres qui ne sont pas tenues et occupées actuellement, ou qui ne sont pas en état de l'être, appartiennent au roi, en quelque endroit de l'empire que ce soit."

These explanations are not entirely explicit, but the fact that Chardin considers even the lands in private possession as being leased by their possessors (he uses the term "bail") indicates that the idea of absolute property was unknown in Persia.

F. Mochaver[3] follows Chardin in stating that under the Safavids "usufruct"(?) held the place of private property. "Cependant après les Séfévides ce droit de possession fut raffermi et se transforma de bonne heure [*sic*] en droit de propriété. Nous ne sommes pas en mesure de rapporter et d'expliquer le sens et la modalité de cette évolution, mais ce qui est certain, c'est que sous les Kadjars les terres faisaient indubitablement l'objet de toutes sortes d'aliénations et de transmissions conditionnées."

1 *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr,* 381.

2 Minorsky, *Naṣīr al-dīn Tūsī on Finance*, p. 780.

3 *L'évolution des Finances Iraniennes*, Paris, 1938, p. 149,

In this connection we should mention the little known episode of the promulgation by the Shah's Government in 1843 of the so-called "Mesures législatives."[1] Though an act of internal policy, the "Mesures" were prepared by a lengthy correspondence with the Imperial Russian Legation. The latter had been complaining that in cases of insolvency of Persian debtors, the rights of Russian creditors suffered loss. As a result of Russian representations, in Rabīʾ I 1249/July, 1833, the Heir Apparent ʿAbbās-mirzā, who at that time was in Tehran, addressed a raqam to the Amīr-Nizām of Āzarbayjān to the effect that the procedure of *ghuramā* (i.e. a pro-rata payment to all the creditors) should no more take place to the determent of Russian creditors. During the following 9 years the raqam was interpreted in the sense that Russian merchants had the first claim. In 1842 an Armenian died among whose creditors were both Russian and British subjects and H.B.M.'s Minister invoked the application of the "right of the most favoured nation." This led to some complications and the Russians suggested that the best substitute to the raqam would be some general measures against insolvent debtors, which would edict punishment for the latter and would prevent them from taking the *bast* (i.e. asylum in sacred places).

The Russian Government waived their claims to the raqam, but in the meantime the Russian Minister in Tehran submitted a project of new regulations to the Persian Prime Minister Ḥājjī Mīrzā-Āghāsī, who commented on each point. Finally the identical drafts of the text elaborated by the parties were exchanged and the Ḥājjī gave a promise that the regulations would be incorporated in farmāns to be sent to the governors. The text, dated 27 Shavvāl, 1259/22 November, 1843, was approved by H.B.M. Government in May, 1844, under which date it figures in Hertslet's *Collection of Treaties*.

The regulations consist of 18 paragraphs, of which §5 rules that a person having the intention of mortgaging (*bayʿ-sharṭ*) his immovable property must remit to the other party the deed (*qabāla va bunjāq*) of the property in question, and the Dīvān-khāna, before registering such a transaction, must ascertain that this condition has been complied with. After the text of the farmān Ḥājjī Mīrzā-Āghāsī, on his own initiative, added the following postscript: *dīgar dar bāb-i faqara-yi panjum, ki māl-i ghayr-i manqūl dhikr shuda, mujaddadan īrād mīshavad ki dar Irān si kas bar qurā ḥaqq dārad: avval Dīvān-i humāyūn-i aʿlā, duyum mālik, siyyum raʿiyat; chinānchi mālik bi-khwāhad qarya-yi khud-rā bayʿ-sharṭ bi-guzārad, ba-jihat-i rafʿ-i guftugū bāyad pīsh az vaqt az Dīvān-i humāyūn-i aʿlā va-raʿiyyat idhn ḥāṣil numāyad*. "Moreover, with regard to §5, in which immovable property has been mentioned, a reminder is again given that in Iran, three persons (i.e. parties) have rights on villages: 1. The Superior Royal Divan; 2. the possessor (*mālik*); 3. the peasants (*raʿiyat*). Should the possessor become desirous of mortgaging his village, in order to eliminate (any) discussions, he must previously obtain a permission from the Supreme Royal Divan and the

1 Based on a notice prepared by me in 1918.

peasants." The Persian Prime Minister, in spite of his well-known whimsicality, could not have derived his progressive theory from the air, but neither can its origin now be discovered, nor its application traced in practice.

Commenting on the document of 1844, Lorini, *La Persia economica*, p. 217, comes to the conclusion that, in terms of Roman law, the only "proprietor" in Persia is the Shah and that the feudal chiefs, private persons and religious corporations, enjoy merely the right of tenure depending on the Sovereign's good will (l'arbitrio del Monarca). Lorini's argument, however, seems to be only a re-statement of Chardin's theory.

More interesting is the text of a farman of Nāṣir al-dīn (Ramadan, 1303/June, 1886), quoted by Lorini, p. 486. In it the Shah enjoins his subjects "to exercise without fear, any right of property, i.e. of disposing of all their belonging, as it suits them best" (esercitar qualunque diritto di proprietà, cioè disporre come loro meglio aggrada, di tutto ciò ehe loro appartiene). Lorini does not quote the Persian original, but it is possible that the term "property" corresponds to Persian *milk* or *milkiyat*.

IV

Routine of Official Instances

(a) Chardin on Bureaucracy
(b) The Documents of B.M.Or. 4935
(c) Royal Seals
(d) Classes of Documents

(a) Chardin on Bureaucracy

Safavid bureaucracy was a very complicated machinery, the object of which was to establish a minute control over the official proceedings, and on the other hand to give satisfaction to the holders of some sinecures. In the *T.M.* the knowledge of the wheels is often taken for granted and for a more exact picture of their working we have to depend on Chardin, V, 444–51.

No. 1. In the cases of letters-patent and commissions, the order was as follows:

(a) Whoever had to submit a petition to the King did it personally and in writing. Petitions were freely accepted, even from amidst a crowd as the King was going out for a ride.

(b) At an early opportunity the application was read to the King by the Grand Vazir, or the Nāẓir (Grand Intendant). The King's decision was inscribed in the margin of the petition and the latter returned to the applicant or handed to the officer responsible for its execution.

(c) In the case of appointments and other more important affairs, the correspondence was sent to the Munshī al-mamālik (§23), who put the matter in due form, prepared a fair copy and transmitted it to the Grand Vazir.

(d) After approval, the Grand Vazir (§6) sent the document to the Vāqiʿa-nivīs (§17) to be copied. This official made a proper endorsement ("le titre de l'expédition") in his own hand, e.g. if the order was addressed to every and all, he wrote in the blank under the first line: *ḥukm-i jahān-mutāʿ shud*.[1]

(e) The document was then sent back to the Grand Vazir, who took it to the King for the seal to be applied, after which the Grand Vazir countersigned it with his own seal.

(f) The document passed then into the hands of the Nāẓir-i Dīvān-i aʿlā (§53, cf. Chardin, V, 341). If the document was sealed with the small State seal[2] the Nāẓir too countersigned it with his own seal and above the Grand Vazir's seal wrote: "par l'ordre exalté et inexprimable de la bouche de la haute majesté."[3]

(g) After this the correspondence was forwarded to the officer through whom the petition had been presented (v.s. *b*).

No. 2. In the case of appointments to a governorship or a post of manager in the khāṣṣa territories, the documents had to be registered in the respective dīvān ("chambre des comptes"), i.e. either in the Dīvān-i mamālik or the Divān-i khāṣṣa.

(a) The order, together with the original petition, etc., was carried to the respective Mustaufī (§18, §109), who wrote on the verso: "qu'il soit enregistré."

(b) Then to the "régistre des officiers," i.e. to the *daftar-khāna-yi Lashkar-nivīs* (§63, cf. Chardin, V, 437), where the document was registered; namely, the formula "il a été inséré dans les régistre du palais" (Or. 4935, No. I) was inscribed and under it the Lashkar-nivīs apposed his seal.

(c) Then to the "prévôt de la chambre," i.e. *dārūgka-yi daftar-khāna* (§54), who checked the text in accordance with the original petition and the draft of the order, made the endorsement: "il est droit" [*ṣaḥīḥ*, v.i., Or. 4935, No. XII] and apposed his seal.

(d) Then to the Nāẓir (i.e. Nāẓir-i daftar, §53), who made the endorsement "il est venu à notre vue" and apposed his seal.

(e) Then to the "bureau de la dépense" (*daftar-i taujīh*, §66), whose head made the endorsement "il a passé sous la plume" and apposed his seal.

(f) Then to the *daftar-i khulāṣa*, whose head made the endorsement "il a été noté" and apposed his seal.[4]

(g) Then back to the Mustaufī al-mamālik ("le premier président de la chambre," cf. Chardin, V, 439), who made the endorsement: "il a passé par les régistres" and apposed his seal slightly above the other.

(h) After this the document apparently was sealed by the Grand Vazīr.

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1 See Or. 4935, No. X*b*, where these words stand before the text and our §23. In Chardin's text, the places of §§23 and 17 are inverted: §17 should come under (*c*), and §23 under (*d*).

2 The documents under the Great Seal being excepted.

3 Chardin's reference is apparently to the oral order technically called *mushāfaha* (f. 25a).

4 The formulas of (*d*), (*e*), (*f*) probably correspond to *mulaḥaẓa shud*, *qalamī* and *ba-muṭāla'a* quoted on f. 71b, though with reference to the avāraja-nivīs.

At all the instances through which a document passed copies of it were taken. Chardin, V, 449, admits that the ways of the Persian bureaucracy were long but, says he: "ce que je puis assurer aussi c'est que tout y est tenu si exactement et dans un si grand ordre, qu'on y peut avoir en tout temps un compte net et exact de ce qu'on aura fait avec le roi, en quelque temps que ce soit."

In Chardin's Atlas, pl. XXX, there is a picture of the verso of a Persian order, showing the exact positions of the endorsements and seals described above. After the numbers we have added references to the stages of the procedure described under B. The seals come in the following order:

No. 1 *(h)*

No. 2 *(g)*

No. 7 *(e)* No. 6 *(c)* No. 5 *(f)* No. 4 *(d)*

No. 3 *(b)*

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5 and 7 are elliptic, and Nos. 4 and 6 quadrangular. Each seal is accompanied by an appropriate endorsement[1] as described in Chardin's text and the names appearing on the seals in Chardin's inadequate transcription must be read as follows:

No. 1. Shaykh ʿAlī-khān, Grand Vazir (of Shāh Sulaymān).
No. 2. Mīrzā Kāẓim, Mustaufī-yi khāṣṣa.
No. 3. Muḥammad Jaʿfar, Ṣāḥib daftar-khāna-yi Lashkar-nivīs.
No. 4. Ismāʿīl-beg, Nāẓir-i daftar-khāna.
No. 5. Mīrzā Kāẓim (?), Mustaufī-yi khulāṣa (?).
No. 6. Gadā-ʿAlī beg, Dārūgha-yi daftar-khāna.
No. 7. Muḥammad Kāẓim (?), Ṣāḥib-taujīh.

(b) The Documents of B.M.Or. 4935

The surest means of ascertaining the practices of Safavid bureaucracy would be to examine the original documents, but this task cannot be thoroughly carried out at the present moment. The number of farmāns available in the S. Churchill Collection (B.M.Or. 4935, cf. Rieu, *Supp.*, 255) is not very large; endorsements made in very cursive hand are often illegible; and the decipherment is rendered still more difficult by the layers of protective paper now pasted on the verso of the documents.

So far as it is possible we shall indicate the principal features of the relevant farmāns.[2]

1 Cf. Or. 4935, IXb and XII

2 Only their contents are indicated in Rieu's Supplement, pp. 255–6. In view of the evacuation of the MSS. of the B.M. I was unable to consult the documents XIV and XV of Or. 4935 and some additional documents in Or. 4934 (No. 3: Ismāʿīl I) and Or. 4936 (No. 1: Sulṭān-Ḥusayn). We can only briefly refer to some other documents of the Safavid kings. On the 27 documents of the Vatican Archives see *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, pp. 1347–57. On the nine documents in the Polish archives see H. S. Szapszal, *Wyobrazenia swietych muzulmanskich*, Wilno, 1934, 26–48 (two documents reproduced). An important soyūrghāl of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn. was described by N. V. Khanikov, in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, 1857, III/1 , 70–4.

I. Tahmāsp I, 948/1541: conferring the custody of the Qum shrines upon the Sayyid Shujāʿ al-dīn (copy!). After basmala: *yā Muḥammad, yā ʿAlī*. In the margin: dedication to the saints buried in Qum. The Shah's name: *Abū Muzaffar Tahmāsp bahādur sözümiz* (this Turkish formula no more used in later farmāns). Locus sigilli: *muhr-i humāyūn*. Verso: 4 endorsements; the first belonging to the Ṣadr is accompanied by the formula *marqūm shud*; the second belonging to the Majlis-nivīs: *thabt-i rūz-nāma-yi* (?) *dīvān-i aʿlā*; the other two indistinct.

II. Tahmāsp I, 961/1554: appointment of a Ṣadr to Shīrvān and Shakkī. Top: *al-mulk lillāhi*. Seal: round, diameter 3 cms.; inner circle: *banda-yi Shāh-i vilāyat*[1] *Ṭahmāsp*, outer circle: names of the 12 imams. Opening formula: *farmān-i humāyūn shud*. Verso: three small seals, the square one bearing *tavakkaltu ʿalāllāh*.

III. Tahmāsp I, 972/1565: appointment of reciters of the Qor'ān to his sister's tomb at Qum. Right top: dedication to the shrine. Seal: round, diameter 3·1 cms.; inner circle: *BShV Ṭahmāsp*; outer circle: names of the imams. Initial formula *farmān-i humāyūn shud*[2] Right bottom: round seal, diameter 2·1 cms., *muhr-i musavvada-yi dīvān-i aʿlā* (in the lower register). Verso: square seal with a top shaped as a triple cupola: *al-ʿabd Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Ḥusayn* (?) *b. Ḥusayn* (?) and other seals.

IV. Muḥammad Khudā-banda, 986/1578. Annual allowance to the mudarris of Isfahan. Seal: round with a top, diameter *circa* 3 cms.; in the top *ʿAlī* [**ḥasbī*] *Allāh*, inner circle: *BShV*, outer circle illegible. Opening formula: *farmān-i humāyūn shud*. Verso: a seal, shaped similarly to the one on verso of III. Endorsements: *marqūm shud, muqarrar shud*, etc.

V. ʿAbbās I, 1017/1609. Assignment of revenue to an amir. Seal: round, diameter 4.5 cms.; inner circle: indistinct (names of the imams). Opening formula: *FHSh*: *ān-ki chūn ḥasab al-ḥukm-i jahān muṭāʿ*.[3] Verso: a quadrangular seal with a shaped top (4·1 cms × 2·8 cms.); under it a pair of small almond-shaped seals and, to the left, two other almond-shaped seals and three round ones.

VI. Shāh Ṣafī (autograph), 1039/1630. Acceptance of a gift. Seal: quadrangular 1·8 × 1·8 cms: *BShV*, *Safī* 1038. Beginning: *muqarrar farmūdim*.

VII. ʿAbbās II, 1052/1642. Confirmation of protection to the Carmelite monks. Seal: as on VI: *BShV, ʿAbbās*. Opening formula: *ḤJM*. In the margin, the Shah's autograph referring to the favours conferred by his grandfather (*jadd-i buzurgvāram*) and father (*shāh bābā-am*).

VIII. ʿAbbās II, 1068/1658. Grant of annual pension to a divine. Seal 1·8 cm. wide, 1·7 cm. high) similar to that on VII. Opening formula: *ḤJM*.

IX. [comprises]

a. ʿAbbās II, 1071/1661. Tax on a waste land in Qum. Top: *al-mulk lillāhi* (in gold). Seal: round, diameter 3·9 cm.; inner circle *BShV, ʿAbbās-i thānī*, outer

1 Further quoted: *BShV*.

2 Further quoted: *FHSh*. Cf. f. 40a.

3 Further quoted: *ḤJM*. Cf. f. 40a.

circle, prayers for the Imams. Opening formula *FHSh*.

b. Ṣafī II = Sulaymān, 1078/1667. Appointment of a servant. Seal: round, diameter 3·1 cm. *muhr-i musavvada-yi dīvān-i aʿlā, BShV, Ṣafī-yi thāni*, 1077. No opening formula. Verso: endorsement: *Huwa! Ḥasab al-amr al-aʿlā az qarār-i nivishta-yi siyādat-va-vizārat-va iqbāl-panāh-i ʿaẓamat-va-jalālat-dastgāh-i ʿali-jāh* (?) *Iʿtimād al-daulat al-ʿāliyya al-ʿāliya al-khāqāniya barṭibq-i nivishta-yi muʿtamid al-khāqāniy-yi mazbūr ast.*[1] Small elliptic seal: *Muḥammad Mahdī b. Ḥabīb-allāh al-Ḥusaynī*. Five other small seals under endorsements: *thabt-i daftar-i khāliṣ shud; thabt-i daftar (?); th.-i d.-i naẓārat shud; th.-i d. -khulāṣa; th.-i d.-i taujīh-i dīvān-i aʿlā*.

X. [comprises]

a. Sulaymān, 1079/1669. Appointment of a Shaykh al-Islām. Top (in gold): *Huwa-llāh subḥāna-hu. Yā Muḥammad yā ʿAlī. Al-khāliq, jalla shaʿnuhu*. Seal: round with a top shaped as a double cupola, 4.45 cms. high, 5·7 cms. wide; inscribed: *Ḥasbi Allāh* (top) and *BShV, Sulaymān*, 1078 (centre).[2] Opening formula (in red): *farmān-i humāyūn sharaf-i nafādh yāft*.[3] Conclusion: *va chūn parvānacha ba-muhr-i mihr-āthār-i ashraf-i arfaʿ-i aqdas-i amjad-i aʿlā muzayyan va-muḥallā gardad iʿtimād numāyand*. Verso: endorsement (illegible) and oval seal: ... *al-ḥaqq al-mūbin* (cf. XII verso). Seven other endorsements (*marqūm shud*, etc.) with seals: 4 round and 3 square.

b. Sulaymān, 1084/1679. Confirmation of a pension (*vaẓīfa*), payable from the vaqf of Princess Zaynab-begum by the vazīr-u-mustaufī-yi mauqūfāt. Seal: almond-shaped, 2·4 × 1·7 cm., surrounded by a gold halo: *BShDin Sulaymān*. Beginning: *ḤJM* in red ink. Verso: 6 oval and round seals and one square seal, all small.

XI. Sulaymān, 1094/1683. Confirmation of the yearly dues payable by the Armenians of Julfa (Jūlāhī) in Isfahan to the amount of 580 tomans (*jizya, rasm-al-vizāra, rusūm-i dārūghakī*), of which Khwāja Avedīk Kalāntar paid 35 tomans by way of consolidated *jizya, rasm al-vizāra, rusūm-i dārūghakī, zarīn-karī* (?), *pīshkash-i naurüzî, sar-shumār, khāna-shumār*, etc. Seal: quadrangular 1·8 cm. wide, 1 cm. high (plus a small "cupola" 0·5 high), inscribed *Bismillah BShV, Sulaymān*, 1077. Opening formula, *ḤJM*.

XII. Sulṭān Ḥusayn, 1122/1710. Appointment of an European to the Arsenal. Recto: a square seal (1·7 × 1·2) with a top (0·5 cm.): *BShV*, IIII H. No opening formula. Verso: *Ḥasab al-amr al-aʿlā, az qarār-i nivishta-yi vizārat-i shaukat-u-iqbāl-panāh, ʿaẓamat-u ḥishmat-u ijlāl-dastgāh, shahāmat-u basālat-intibāh Rukn-i aʿzam-i daulat-i khilāfat-bunyān, pāya-yi afkham* (?)*-i sarīr-i salṭanat-i abadtauʾamān ʿālī-jāhī-yi Iʿtiḍād al-salṭanat al-sulṭāniya al-bahiya, Aṣaf-jāhī-yi Iʿtimād al-daulat al-ʿaliyyat al-āliya, bar-ṭibq-i nivishta-yi ʿālī-jāh-i muqarrab al-khāqāni-yi Majlis-nivīs-i majlis-i bihisht-āyīn*. Verso: en-

1 V.i., XII.

2 For more details, v.i. seal (*a*).

3 Cf. f. 40a.

dorsements and seals:

No. 1

No. 4 No. 3

No. 5

No. 2

No. 1 is an oval seal with *Lā ilāh illaʿllāh al-mulk* [*lillāhi*] *al-ḥaqq al-mubīn* (cf. X*a* verso). No. 2—a small square seal accompanied by: *thabt-i daftar-i khulāṣa* (?) *shud*. No. 3 ditto: *thabt-i daftar-i naẓārat shud*. No. 4 ditto: *ṣaḥīḥ* (?). No. 5: *thabt-i daftar-i taujīh-i dīvān-i aʿlā shud*.

XIII. Sulṭān Ḥusayn, 1125/1713. Revenue of a shrine. Recto: a square seal, 1·2 × 1 cm. (top 0·5 cm.). Upper right comer: an apparently autograph endorsement by the Shah: *Shāh bābā-am …* (v.s., vii). Opening formula: *ḤJM*.

(c) Royal Seals

Chardin, V, 456, says that Shah had five seals and in his Atlas, pl. XXXI, presents the seals of Shāh Sulaymān.

(a) The first was a round turquoise with an excrescence on the top, the centre forming a smaller circle. Inside the top (see Atlas) was inscribed: "Dieu est ma suffisance" (= *Ḥasbī Allāh*). The inscription in the centre of this and all the other seals was *Banda-yi Shāh-i vilāyat, Sulaymān*, 1080, i.e. "The Slave of the King of Sanctity Sulaymān, 1080/1669," the "King of Sanctity" being ʿAli (and not the twelfth Imām as Chardin took it). The inscription running round the centre was as follows:

Jānib-i har ki bā ʿAlī na-nīkūst
Har-ki kū bāsh man na-dāram dūst
Har-ki chūn khāk nīst bar dar-i ū
Gar firishta-st khāk bar sar-i ūst.[1]
"He who is not on good terms with ʿAlī,
Whoever he be, I do not befriend him.
He who is not like dust on his threshold,
Let dust be on his head, even though he be an angel."

(b) Another large seal, also a turquoise, had a quadrangular form. Its inner square was inscribed like the centre of (*a*), but round it ran the names of the twelve Imams,

(c) The third seal, small and square, was a ruby and bore only the formula inscribed in the centre of (*a*) and (*b*).

1 The text is faulty in Chardin, but the same inscription figures on Or. 4935, No. xa and on Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's seal, see Khanikov in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, III/1 , pp. 70–74. Chardin, V, 461, certifies that the great seals had served since ʿAbbās I, only the King's name had been changed in due course (?). In fact, Olearius, 255, quotes the same couplet under Shah Ṣafī.

(d) The fourth small seal was an emerald, which on Chardin's plate has the form of a shield with three points at the top and almond-shaped at the bottom, and bore the usual formula with a slight variation: *Banda-yi Shāh-i dīn, Sulaymān*, 1080 (cf. X*b*).

(e) The fifth seal was entirely like (*a*) except for its round shape.

According to Chardin, V, 461, the seal (*a*) was used for all the affairs of the Dīvān-i mamālik ("les affaires de l'empire"), such as treaties, correspondence with foreigners, orders ("commissions"), letters patent; (*b*) was used for the orders ("commissions") concerning the Khāṣṣa and (*e*) in military affairs, while the small (*c*) and (*d*) served in matters financial and bearing on the demesnes, as well as in appointments made in the Khāṣṣa Dt. and in the army. The square (*b*) was the most respected because it was properly the own seal of the Shah who wore it round his neck. The large seals (*sic*) were called *humāyūn*, while the small ones were surnamed *ḥukm-i jahān muṭāʿ*, after the opening formula of the orders to the governors and Royal managers, to which they were apposed (v.s., f. 40a). One of the small seals was kept by the eunuch in charge of the Treasury.

This minute description enables us to identify some of the seals on the documents included in Or. 4935.

The seal (*a*) is represented on X*a* (appointment of a Shaykh al-Islam!) and possibly on IV (allowance to a divine). The large square seal (*b*) seems to be lacking in our collection.

The small seal (*c*) is probably the square seal of VII (protection of Carmelites) and VIII (a pension), both opening with the formula *ḤJM*, as well as on VI (acceptance of a gift) opening with *muqarrar farmūdītn*. Similar to these seals are those of XI (Armenians), XII (appointment of an European), XIII (revenue of a shrine), although in these three cases the square seals have a small "cupola"-shaped top. Documents XI and XIII open with the formula *ḤJM*. The seal (*d*), judging by its legend, seems to be that of X*b*.

The seal (*e*) is apparently the large round seal figuring on II (appointment of a Ṣadr), III (appointment to a shrine), V (assignment to an amīr), IX*a* (taxation of a land connected with the shrine of Qum), both on account of its size, the names of the imams and the formula *FHSh*.

Apart from these seals, the documents IX*b* (appointment of a servant) and III (in the margin) bear the seal *muhr-i musavvada-yi dīvān-i aʿlā* which, not being properly a royal seal, served possibly to certify copies, or to indicate that a copy was being kept in the divan.

The *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* enumerates four seals, but in their identification we come upon considerable difficulties.

(α) Muhr-i humāyūn (§24) may be (*a*) which on document X*a* is combined with the small oval seal which we tentatively take for *sharaf-i nafādh*.

(β) Muhr-i sharaf-i nafādh (§25) was a small additional seal apposed jointly with (α). Possibly this is the oval seal 1·4 × 2·2 cm., which figures on

the verso of the parvānacha X*a* and on the verso of XII (though in this latter case it is combined on the recto with a small square seal!). Its legend (not quite distinct) is *Lā ilāh ilāʾllāh al-mulk [lillāhi] al-ḥaqq al-mubin*. Like (*α*) it stands on the middle perpendicular line of the document, but as the verso of a farmān always begins opposite the bottom of the recto and the endorsements run in the inverse direction to the principal text, this additional seal, in comparison to (*α*) stands at the other end of the document. Before it, is inscribed the formula *hasab al-amr*, etc., and the registration seals are beneath it. The parvānacha X*a* begins with the formula: *farmān-i humāyūn sharaf-i nafādh yāft* (cf. f. 40a). The *muhr-i mihr-āthār*, which is mentioned in its conclusion (v.s.), would then refer to the cupola-shaped seal (*α*). Should our oval seal (verso) be the *sharaf-i nafādh* seal, the cupola-shaped seal (recto) should be *mihrāthār*. But this would contradict §25, according to which we should expect a combination of *sharaf-i nafādh with humāyūn*. A further difficulty is that the oval seal is found also on the verso of XII which bears recto only the small seal (*c*). We have no means to solve these contradictions.

(γ) Muhr-i angushtar-i āftāb-āthār (alias *mihr-āthār*) may be the seal of X*b*, round which a golden halo is traced by hand. This embellishment might explain the term *āftāb-āthār*, "with vestiges of the Sun." In Chardin's description it corresponds to the seal (*d*). The word *angushtar* points to the seal being a signet-ring. The fact that there was no "keeper" to it but only an "ink-horn holder," suggests that the seal was of secondary importance. According to our text this seal accompanied the tughrā drawn by the Vāqiʿa-nivīs, whereas no such "tughrā" is distinguishable on X*b*, which again makes a difficulty. It is safer then to stick to the identification (*γ*) with the small oval seal (v.s. Commentary on §§20).

(δ) By the method of exclusion the Ink-horn Holder of the raqams (§§207) should be connected with the seal (*c*), but we must repeat that our explanation of (a)–§§207 is still up in the air. Nondum liquet.

(d) Classes of Documents

Our source mentions various kinds of official documents:

raqam, a general term under which (f. 9b) even the King's oral orders were comprised (f. 9a, *raqam-i bil-muskāfaha*); the raqams for appointments had to bear the seal *mihr-āthār* (cf. X*a* and XII); some raqams were issued by the Grand Vazir (f. 83a);

ḥukm must have been administrative orders of lesser importance as they are mentioned at a second place in the title of §27. Even the salary of the *Davātdār-i aḥkām* was much lower than that of his colleague of *arqām* (cf. §101–§102). We learn from f. 21b that orders (*ḥukm*) were issued in criminal affairs on the initiative of the Dīvān-begī, and from f. 39a that the formula *ḥukm-i jahān muṭāʿ shud* was placed on "the orders given by the Dīvān-begī" (i.e. on his initiative?). In this case, documents V, VII, VIII, X*b*, XI and XIII, bearing this formula, should be considered as judicial decisions, cf. also

f. 21b;

mithāl, see ff. 40a, 72b: meaning uncertain; cf. p. 87, note 5.

parvāna, see ff. 43a, 68b; under this category come as well *parvānajāt-i mubārak-i ashraf*, "the Royal parvānas" (f. 40a) as *parvānajāt-i ḥisābī* dealing with accountancy.[1]

Documents issued on the basis of drafts (*musavadda-yi daftarī*) formed a special category of official correspondence. If they referred to revenue, the avāraja-nivīses had to inscribe special formulas both on the draft and the fair copy (ff. 71a, 71b). On f. 25b some raqams are referred to which were transcribed by the scribes from the rough drafts of the Vāqiʿa-nivīs. In connection with the character of document IX, one might surmise that the seal (*e*) was used for the documents for which only a draft drawn up by some competent officer was needed and not a direct order of the Shah given by word of mouth (*mushāfaha*, ff. 9b, 25a, 40b). On f. 42b two categories of raqams are mentioned: *daftarī* and *bayāḍī*; the former may have been those issued from musavvadas, while the latter ("fair copies") directly followed the King's order. The documents issued by the higher officials were called *taʿlīqa* (Grand Vazir, f. 23b; Nāẓir, f. 20a; Divan-begi, f. 21b; Khalīfa, f. 30a). The Divan-begis' summons were called *taʿlīqa-yi bayāḍī* (f. 21a).[2]

The distinction between all these categories is still obscure.[3]

V

The Language and Style of the *T.M.*

The language of the *T.M.* is negligent and approaches the type of an official jargon intelligible to a limited group of initiated. The meaning of many terms which the author takes for granted could be ascertained only through the context, or merely hypothetically (see the Index). Moreover, some obscurity in the text is attributable to the scatter-brained scribe who occasionally did not notice even such howlers as *zabt* (for *ḍabṭ*), *zarrābī* (for *ḍarrābī*), etc., to say nothing of the more conventional *mustaqallāt* (67b) (for *mustaghallāt*) and *infād* (for *infādh*).[4]

Some misunderstandings result from the particle *va* now being omitted and now inserted parasitically: f. 65b *ṭalab-i hamīsha-keshīk* but f. 63b *ṭalab-va-hamīsha-keshīk*.

Plural is used now to denote the series of consecutive holders of an office: *vuzarā-yi dīvān-i aʿlā* (f. 28a) and now to denote the plurality of the dignitaries of a similar denomination (f. 44b).

1 In India "parvānachas" were "orders not requiring the King's seal," Ibn-Ḥasan, *o.c.*, 93. This does not apply to our Xa.

2 In India the term *bayāḍī* was applied to confidential farmans folded up in such a manner that the contents could not be seen, see Ibn-Ḥasan, *o.c.*, 97.

3 The whole procedure is far less clear than that of the Mughal court, cf. Ibn Ḥasan's elaborate chapter, "Farmāns," *o.c.*, pp. 92–106.

4 See also pp. 196 on the confusion in retranscribing the lists and tables of the original, and p. 196 on the spelling out of numbers.

The word *ghyrh* (read *ghayre* < Arab. **ghayruhu*), in the sense of "the rest of," with the following *iḍāfat* is unusual.

Very curious are composite verbal forms perhaps influenced by parallel Turkish constructions, such as *īstāda mī shud* (f. 43b), *agar mīyāmada-and, mīnumūda bāshand* (1. 22a); *taṣarruf dāshta khāhad būd* (56a).

Chinānchi for *chinānki* (76b) is a very common mistake in Persian.

One should also note the colloquial use of the enclitic *kī* following the initial word of the sentence, in the sense of "because, namely" (Latin *enim*): *qullābī ki sarfa namīkunad*, "because forgery is of no profit" (39a). Such constructions are sporadically found in much earlier authors, see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, 309: *va raʿiyat-rā-kī ba-charīk na-dāda-īm*, "rusticos enim exercitui non donavi."

The syntax of our author is definitely bad. As an example of involved construction one might quote the scheme of fol. 39a: *dar sāl-i aʿlā ki tujjār qurūsh-i bisyār az aṭrāf miyāvardand va naqda-sāzī-va-fulūs-kārī, dar ʿayn-i maʿmūrī-yi shahr, ki chahār-sad ʿamala-yi maujūdī … kār mīkarda-and, pānsad toman ba-ijāra mīdada-and ki mustaʿjir … 250 toman … infād-i khazāna, va 350 toman-i dīgar rā … mīdāda-and* (*sic*).

The text teems with anacolutha. Fol. 70b: *Shughl-i īshān ān-ast ki dar kayfiyāt … ism nivishtan* (*sic*), *va dar muhāsabāt …* "nskh," *va dar afrād* "ba-mutālaʿā" *mīnivīsand* (70b). Fol. 73a: *va dar raf'-i maḥṣūlāt ki ba-ʿillat-i āfat-i arḍi ya samāʿi ya īnki bāzdīdī bāshad* (*sic*), *baʿd az ʿarḍ … muqarrar mīgardad* (repeated on fol. 75a). Fol. 25a: *Va har gūna raqami-ki pādshāh ba-zabānī muqarrar dārad … , yā īnki az qarār-i taʿlīqa-yi … vazīr-i dīvān-i aʿlā, yā īnki ba-qayd-i* "hasab al-amr al-aʿlā" *umarā … ba-risāla-yi khud chīzī nivishta, ba-vāqiʿa-nivīs sipārand, ba-iṭṭilāʿ va ṭughrā(-yi) qalam-i madād-i vāqiʿa-nivīs arqām-i madhkūr miguzarad*.

Very common is the construction asyndeton in which the auxiliary verbs are left out, such as fol. 21b: *dīvān-begī ba-ḥaqīqat … rasīda ba-khidmat-i pādshāh … ʿard* (*sic*), *va az-qarāri-ki rnaqrūn ba-ṣalāḥ-i daulat … mīdānasta, ghaur-rasī minumūda-and*; fol. 73b: *tatimma … ḍabṭ, va taḥvīl-i raʿāyā dar maḥāll munabbar, va taḥvīldār taʿyīn, va tankhwāh-i arbāb-i ḥavālāt-i dīvān mīshud*; fol. 75b: *tankhwāh bāz-yāft numūda ba-maṣārif … ṣarf, va … asnād dar dast dāshta, ba-raqam-i dīvān … rasānīda*.

VI

Additional Selections of Literature

In addition to the books referred to in the list of abbreviations (p. 3–p. 4) and in the text, the following selection of works on the social and economic history of Iran may prove helpful to the readers. In it are incorporated some recent works on the adjacent countries which give useful parallels to our subject, indicate the methods of the present-day investigation and contain further

bibliography. Purely static descriptions, such as consular and commercial reports, have not been included in the list. The latter has no claim to completeness. In the present circumstances, even the fascicles of the *Novīy Vostok* containing articles on land-tenure in Isfahan and Sistan could not be consulted.

Dastʿurlamali (*circa* 1706). ed. by P. Umikʿashvili (Tiflis?), 1886, 204 pp. (in Georgian).

The book (= Persian *Dastūr al-ʿamal*, "Regulations") epitomises the administrative make-up of the Georgian kingdom, strongly influenced by the institutions and terminology of the suzerain Persia. In its object it is identical to, and in its date slightly earlier than the *T.M.* I could use only some insignificant fragments of the book translated for me by Z. D. Avalishvili. On the Georgian institutions in general see Introduction to Brosset's Histoire de la Géorgie. The late I. A. Javakhishvili's *Economic History of Georgia*, 1930 (in Georgian) is inaccessible to me.

Hanway, A Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea, 1753.

I, ch. LI, pp. 335–44: on the dignitaries of State.

Rawlinson, Notes on a journey from Tabriz, JRGS, X, 1840.

P. 5: On land-tenure in southern Azarbayjan.

Shopen, I., (Chopin), Istoricheskiy pamiatnik sostoyaniya Armianskoy oblasti, St. Petersburg, 1852.

After the Russo-Persian war of 1828, the author was commissioned by the Russian authorities to investigate and reorganise the administration of the former Persian province of Erivan.

Blau, O., Commercielle Zustände Persiens, Berlin, 1858.

Berezin, I. N., On the internal organisation of the ulus of Juchi (in Russian), in *Trudï Vost. Otd.*, VIII, 1864, pp. 386–494.

Stack, E., (Bengal Civil Service), Six months in Persia, 1882.

II, 247–82: Land-revenue system.

Stolze und Andreas, Die Handelsverhältnisse Persiens, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Interessen, *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, 1885.

Rabino, J., Banking in Persia in *J. Institute of Bankers*, xiii, Jan. 1892, pp. 1–56.

Tomara, M. L., Ekonomicheskoye polozheniye Persii, St. Petersburg, 1895, published by the Russian Ministry of Finance.

Curzon, Persia: II, 469–527 (revenue, resources, manufactures), II, 528–84 (trade); bibliographies: II, 469, 495, 554.

Lorini, E., La Persia economica contemporanea e la sua questione monetaria, Roma, 1900, pp. 540 (bibliography).

Greenfield, Die Verfassung des Persischen Staats, Berlin, 1904.

Idem, Persien, in Schlegelberger's *Rechtsvergleichendes Handwörterbuch*, I, 1929, col. 427–67.

Tigranov, L., Iz obschestvenno-economicheskikh otnosheniy v Persii, St. Petersburg, 1909.

Information collected in Ardabil on land-tenure, taxation, administrative system.

Miller, A. Y., The maliyat of Kirman, in *Sbornik materialov*, 1, 1909, pp. 119– 160.

Barthold, V. V., A Persian inscription on Manuche's mosque at Ani (in Russian), *Aniyskaya seriya*, No. 5, St. Petersburg, 1914, pp. 44.

Analysis of an inscription of the Ilkhan Abū Saʿīd concerning taxation.

Ter-Gukasov, G. I., Politicheskiye i economicheskiye interesï Rossii v Persii, Petrograd, 1916.

Based on official Russian sources.

Djamalzadeh, Ganj-i shāyagān, Berlin, 1338/1919, 138 pp.

Idem, Some aspects of Labour conditions in Persian agriculture. A study of the non-nomadic rural population, in *Asiatic Review*, No. 106, April, 1935, 334–47.

Ghadimy, Mochar, Les finances de la Perse, Paris, 1920.

Litten, W., Persien von der "pénétration pacifique" zum "Protectorat" (1860–1919), Berlin., 1920.

P. 280: budget for 1912–3.

Pavlovich, M., Ekonomicheskoye polozheniye i agrarnïy vopros v Persii, Gosizdat, 1921 ("The economic situation and the agrarian question. of Persia.")

Sultan-zade, A., Agrarnïy vopros v sovremennoy Persii, in *Novïy Vostok*, I, 1922, 133–46.

Naficy, H., (Mocharaf-ed-Douleh), L'impôt et la vie économique et sociale en Perse (thesis), Paris, 1924, 210 pp.

Millspaugh, A. G., (Administrator-General of the finances of Persia), The American Task in Persia (1921–5), London–New York, 1926, pp. 322.

Ch. X: Agriculture, manufacturing, transportation and commerce; Ch. XI: Natural resources and other assets (pp. 247–307).

Idem, The Financial and Economic situation of Persia (1926). Published by the Persian Government, The Persia Society, New York, 1926.

Barthold, V. V., Istoriya kulturnoy zhizni Turkestana, Leningrad, 1927, pp. 254.

Semenov, A. A., Ocherk pozemelno-podatnogo i nalogovogo ustroystva Bukharskago khanstva ("Land revenue in Bukhara"), *Acta Universitatis Asiae Mediae*, Series II, fasc. 1, 1929, pp. 1–54.

Moreland, W. M., (C.S.I.), The agrarian system of Moslem India, Cambridge, 1929, pp. 296 (bibliography).

Ardalan, H. Ali-Gholi khan, Die Stellung Persiens in der Weltwirtschaft, Tehran, 1930 (thesis), pp. 207–7.

Validi, A. Z., Moğollar devrinde Anadolunun iktisadi vaziyeti (in Turkish), in *Türk hukuk iktisadiyati tarihi macmuasi*, I, 1930, pp. 1–42.

Analysis of the data of the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (A.D. 1340) on Armenia and Anatolia.

Nikitine, B., La structure économique de la Perse, in *Revue économique internationale*, Sept., 1931, Bruxelles, pp. 1–35.

Belogorodsky, Report of the Persian Minister of Finance for 1307 (1928-9) (in Russian) in *Bibliografiya Vostoka*, I, 1932.

Hale, F., (Imperial Bank of Persia), Chapters on "Currency and Finance" and "national accounts," in Sir A. T. Wilson's *Persia*, 1932, pp. 252–312.

Fitrat, Tri dokumenta po agrarmomu voprosu v Sredney Azii, in *Zap. Inst. Vost.*, II/2, 1933, pp. 69–87.

Torgovlya s Moskovskim gosudarstvom i mezhdunarodnoye polozheniye Sredney Azii v XVI–XVII v., Fasc. III of *Materiali po istorii Uzbek., Tajik, i Turkmen. SSR*, Leningrad, 1933, pp. 504.

Contains: A. Yakubovsky, *The Feudal society of Central Asia and its trade with the eastern Europe in the 10th–15th centuries*; A. Chuloshnikov, *The trade of Muscovy with Central Asia in the 16–17th centuries*; numerous documents and detailed bibliography.

Sanjābī, K., Essai sur l'Economie Rurale et le Régime Agrarire de la Perse (thesis), Paris, 1934, 237 pp.

Umniakov, I., On the forms of land-tenure in Bukhara before the Revolution (in Ukrainian), in *Skhidnïy svit*, No. 1, pp. 229–41.

Melekpur, Dr. A., Die Wirtschaftsverfassung Irans (thesis), Berlin, 1935, pp. 111.

Petrushevsky, I. P., On immunity in Azarbayjan in the 16th–17th century, (in Russian) in *Istoricheskiy sbornik Akad. Nauk SSSR*, 1935, No. 4, pp. 35–72.

Idem, Hamdallāh Qazvīnī as a source on the social and economic history of the Western Transcaucasia (in Russian). *Bull. Académie des Sciences de l'URSS.* classe des sciences sociales, 1937, No. 4, pp. 873–920.

Ibne Hasan, The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, Oxford, 1936 (bibliography).

Ivanov, P. P., "Udelniye zemli" Seyyid Muhammad khana Khivinskago (1856–65), in *Zap. Inst. Vost.*, VI, 1937, 27–59. ("The demesnes of the khans of Khiva.")

Berthels, E. A., From the archives of the Jūybārī shaykhs. Documents on landtenure and commerce in Central Asia in the 16th century, A.D. Published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1938, 492, 9 pages.

Contains 385 legal documents.

Djezaeri, Dr. Chams-ed-Dine, La crise économique mondiale et ses repercussions en Iran (thesis), Paris, 1938.

Mochaver, Fazlollah, L'évolution des finances iraniennes (thesis), Paris, 1938, pp. 312.

Sadiq khan, M., A study in the Mughal Land Revenue System, in *Islamic Culture*, XII/I 1938, pp. 61–75.

Minorsky, V., *Tiyul* in *E.I.* [See also above, pp. 3–4.]

Lambton, Ann K., Contribution to the study of Seljuk Institutions (thesis, University of London), June, 1939, 394 typed pp.

Bayānī, Khān-Bābā, Sāzmān-e Kashvarī-ye Īrān dar zāman-e Safaviye, in *Amūzesh-o-parvaresh*, 1320/1941, No. 6, pp. 11–21. No. 7-8, pp. 9–23.

Received after the printing of the present work was finished. Uses some contemporary French sources.

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CORRIGENDA

I. LIST OF CHANGES

The main differences between this edition of the *T.M.* and the 1980 reprint are as follows:

Page (1980 Reprint)	Section	1980 Reprint	This Edition
Imprint			
1			The address of the Gibb Memorial was updated.
2	Copyright notice	"All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by mimeograph …"	1. The entire copyright notice was updated. These days nobody knows what a "mimeograph" is. 2. The reference to the associated Book Production Consultans was removed. 3. The reference to the reprint at the University Press Cambridge was removed.
3	Clerk of the Trust		The name of the clerk was updated to the current secretary; the c/o address of the Gibb Memorial was also updated.
Contents			
vii	ToC		The ToC of this edition varies in some details from the original, mainly to allow for a higher degree of automation: 1. Entry "Table of Contents of the Original" was added. 2. For most entries the actual section headers as used later in the book also appear in the ToC.

Page (1980 Reprint)	Section	1980 Reprint	This Edition
vii	ToC		For example: ▪ Section-heading "English Translation" on page 41 does not include "of the Tadhkirat al-mulūk". Omitted. ▪ Entry "Commentary", item "(*b*) Salaries and Fees": the heading on page 150 does not contain "and fees". Omitted. ▪ Appendices, I.: the ToC shows "Iranians and Turks" as appears on page 187. On the other hand, "Commentary", item (*e*): the entry was manually edited to include "Budget" as well as "and Expenditure". See also "Section Headers" on page 257.
Abbreviations			
3	Entry "Figueroa"	"Wicqfort"	Changed to "Wicquefort".
4	Entry "Minadoi"	"Thomaso"	Changed to "Tommaso".
Introduction			
5	Intra-chapter ToC	The intra-chapter table of contents uses different section headers than appear in the chapter.	In the interest of automation, the actual section headers appear in the table of contents. See also section "retained peculiarities", row "Introduction" on page 240 below and also "Section Headers" on page 257.
23	Causes of Decline	*(c) Causes of Decline*	The numbering of section *Causes of Decline* is visibly incorrect, it must be *(e)* as correctly stated in the table of contents on page 5.

Page (1980 Reprint)	Section	1980 Reprint	This Edition
34	Footnote 1	"Eshik-aghasī-bashi"	Changed to "Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī" (which is in line with the corresponding entry in Index D on page 218 and the spelling throughout the book).
34	Footnote 3	"Gesandschaft"	Changed to "Gesandtschaft".
35	item *(i) (k)*	"… on yāsāq to Āzarbāyjān (*mutavajjih-i yāsāq-i Ā.*)."	Changed to "… on yāsāq to Āzarbāyjān (*mutavajjih-i yāsāq-i Āzarbāyjān*)." as the line breaks are better.
English Translation			
44	Category A	"… whose residence is at Sinanduj."	Changed to "…Senanduj." to be consistent with the Commentary, Chapter II, Category A.
45	§6, second item	"… throughout the provinces ((*vilāyāt*) … "	In the 1980 reprint there are two opening brackets; the first one is never closed, and till the end of the item there is no meaningful insertion point for a closing bracket. Hence, one bracket was removed.
61	§22	"… (*fulūskārī*?) …"	Changed to "…(*fulūs-kārī*?) …" (as it is also spelled on page 204 and in Index E on page 216).
61	§23	The last "He writes …"	The indentation of the second line of the last "He writes …" was changed to match the indentation of the previous two "He writes …"
66	§34	"… purchase is registered (*qalamī gardad*)."	Changed to "… purchase is registered (*qalamī gardīd*)." as this spelling is in line with Index E, page 217, and the Oxford University Research Archive.

Page (1980 Reprint)	Section (1980 Reprint)	1980 Reprint	This Edition
77	§68	"… is the senior officer (*rīshsafīd*) of …"	Changed to "… is the senior officer (*rīsh-safīd*) of …" to remain consistent with the rest of the book.
96	§140	"… cutter ((*qaychächī*)…"	In the 1980 reprint there are two opening brackets in "… cutter ((*qaychächī*)"; the first one is never closed and was removed.
104	Table I	Province Kurdistān: row with entry *"Beglarbegi"*	Font style changed to Regular as the row with entry "Beglarbegi" should not be italicised: In the entire table no occurrence of Beglarbegi at this indentation level is italicised.
105	Table I	Last row	A table frame at the bottom to visually close the table was added. Without this line, Table 1 would be the only table in the book without a horizontal line at the end of the table.
Commentary			
113	Footnote 3	"ʿĀlam-ārā"	Font style changed to Italic ("*ʿĀlam-ārā*"), as the title appears in every other footnote of the book.
128	§20	"Chemists' D."	Changed to "Chemists' Dt.".
135	Section *(b) The Ṣāḥib-jamʿs*	"… their heads (§§139-69) and mushrifs …"	Assuming that "69" is the usual Oxford University Press number-span elision: the range is surprising as there are just 164 paragraphs. The cross-reference in this edition is to §164.
140	Division A	"Division A"	Changed to "Division I". The numbering format of "Division A" is incorrect. This can be inferred from the introduction to Chapter

Page (1980 Reprint)	Section	1980 Reprint	This Edition
			IV just some lines above and also from "Division II" on the same page.
146	§§71, 81	"… Muḥammad Khodā-banda …"	Changed to "… Muḥammad Khudā-banda …" to remain consistent with the rest of the book.
161		"Great total"	Replaced by "Grand total" as "Great total" is not used anywhere else in the book for a complete amount after everything has been added up.
163 169 170		"Yazd"	It seems that "Yazd" and "Yezd" (pages 42 and 210 (Index A, which refers to page 170)), are used interchangeably. The index also includes all occurrences of "Yazd".
165	"The Shaqāqī tribe, …"	"see *Shaḳāḳī* un *E.I.*"	Changed to "see *Shaḳāḳī* in *E.I.*".
168		"2. The Mashhad province …"	Changed to Roman numbering. The numbering format in the 1980 reprint is incorrect, all other items in this list use Roman numbering.
168		"The Safavids took Marv …"	Changed to "The Safavids took Merv …".
173	Intra-chapter ToC	The intra-chapter table of contents uses different section headers than appear in the chapter.	Section "The Totals" on page 174 does not adopt the Greek numbering of the intra-chapter ToC. The numbering was left unchanged. However: Section "Revenue according to …" is not provided by Chardin but by "European Travellers".

Page (1980 Reprint)	Section	1980 Reprint	This Edition
			In this case the actual section header appears in the table of contents. See also "Section Headers" on page 257.
179	Footnote 3	"Meissnische Müntze"	As for the German word for both "mint" and "coin", the spelling was corrected to "Münze". Entirely correct, moreover, is "Meißnische Münze".
Appendices			
187	Intra-chapter ToC, Routine of Official Instances	The intra-chapter table of contents uses different section headers than appear in the chapter.	In the interest of automation, the actual section headers appear in the table of contents. See also "Section Headers" on page 257.
189	Section II, Footnote 2	"*Scheich Bedr ad-din* ..."	Changed to "*Scheich Bedr ed-din* ...".
204	Section VI	The section-counter "VI" and the title "Additional Selection of Literature" are arranged in one line unlike all other section titles.	As the paragraph format definition is the same for all section headers, this section header is also arranged in 2 lines.
207	Literature	item "Bayani, Khan-Baba"	Changed to "Bayānī, Khān-Bābā".
Corrigenda			
–	–	–	New
Colophon			
–	–	–	New
Index			
209	Index A	"mt.—mountain; r.—river; t.—tribe"	I decided to use the full words instead of the abbreviations in the respective index entries. Accordingly, the list of abbreviations has been removed.
209	Index A	item "Kabūd-jām"	"Kabūd-jām" now has reference locators.

Page (1980 Reprint)	Section	1980 Reprint	This Edition
209	Index A	item "Luristān-i Faylī"	"Luristān-i Faylī" as well as "Luristān-i Feylī" in "Table I" on page 111 of the English Translation and in section F ("Western provinces") of the Commentary are grouped under this item. This may or may not have been intentional. In any case, I could not resolve this and introduced two groups: "Luristān-i Faylī" and "Luristān-i Feylī". on page 111
209	Index A	item "Mūghān, Mughānāt"	Moved to the correct alphabetical position.
210	Index A	item "Sinanduj"	Changed to "Senanduj". See above, entry for page 44.
210	Index A	items "Yamūt" and "Yaqqa-Turkman-i ..."	The blank line between these two items was placed *above* "Yamūt" to separate the items beginning with "V" and those beginning with "Y".
211	Index C	item "Brugsh"	Changed to "Brugsch".
212	Index C	item "Edwards"	Changed to "Edward".
212	Index C	item "Fiṭrat"	Changed to "Fitrat".
212	Index C	item "Ghulām-Sarwar"	Changed to "Ghulām Sarwar".
212	Index C	item "Khanykoff"	Changed to "Khanikov" as this seems to be the prevalent spelling. All occurrences of the name in the book (which incidentally showed different spellings) were also updated.
212	Index C	item "Köprülü, Mehmed Fuad"	Changed to "Köprülüzade, Mehmed Fuad".
212	Index C	item "Krusinski" and item "Kraelitz-Greifenhorst"	Sequence swapped.

II. RETAINED PECULIARITIES

Page (1980 Reprint)	Section	1980 Reprint	Comment
Imrpint			
3	Clerk of the Trust		In my opinion both the name of the clerk as well as the address of the trust should be removed: unsurprisingly both changed since 1980 and are almost certain to change again in the future. The address of the trust is moreover provided on page 1, and the name of the current clerk/secretary can be found on the internet in this modern day and age.
Introduction			
5	Intra-chapter ToC	Entry "§2 European Travellers" *(c)* Under Shah ʿAbbās *(d)* Under the later Safavids	There are no subheadings "Under Shah ʿAbbas" and "Under the later Safavids" in section "§2 European Travellers". This explains why these two entries are not clickable cross-references. When reading the section, it is also difficult to identify an insertion point for these subheaders. Nevertheless, I have kept these two entries. See also "Section Headers" on page 257.
9	European Travellers, final paragraph	"(1376 pp. in 4^0)"	In case the ordinal 0 was deliberate: I have no idea what it is supposed to indicate, neither in terms of content nor typographically. My assumption is the content of the parenthesis should read "40 mo", similar to the parenthesis two paragraphs above.

Page (1980 Reprint)	Section	1980 Reprint	Comment
English Translation			
53	Footnote 2	"cf."	"cf." lacks a reference locator. Perhaps page 204 was intended, as "*az qarār-i taʿlīqa*" is mentioned there, in a discussion of the anacolutha of the text.
88	§94 item *b*.	"… payed to the soldiers …"	I expected "paid" (as *pay* is an irregular verb (and *payed* is used as the past tense and past participle of *pay* only in specific nautical senses)). Still, I decided to leave it as it is.
106	Footnote 5	"Note: "on campaign in ʿIrāq."" "	I am not sure why " ʿIrāq." is followed by what appears to be a right single quotation mark, followed by the closing right double quotation mark.
106	Table II, entry for "Khūzistān"	"falcons: 4 dasts"	There are two table rows stating "falcons: 4 dasts". My guess is that one of these "falcons" table rows is a redundant repetition, but unfortunately I cannot read the Persian original.
Commentary			
140	§69	"Our § illustrates …"	In a few places in the book, the "§" glyph is used in the body text as an abbreviation for "paragraph". This can be done, but does not have to be: in my opinion, the glyph should have been written out in full.
154	Table, row "Vazīrs", third column	"100–50"	It is evident that the range "100–50" is incorrect. My expectation was e.g. "100–500" or possibly "50–100".

Page (1980 Reprint)	Section	1980 Reprint	Comment
			Just maybe, as a far-fetched possibility, the "–50" might have been intended as a footnote reference (see next row).
154	Table, footnote 5		I could not find the footnote reference for footnote number 5.
164	Section A, Āzarbayjān	"… and the U.S.S.R."	Azerbaijan became (again) independent in 1991.
Appendices			
205	Additional Literature	Order of entries	The list of additional literature is sorted by year of publication, as opposed to e.g. alphabetically by author. It took me some time to realise this.
207	Additional Literature	"Djezaeri, Dr. Chams-ed-Dine"	In Index C on page 212 the spelling is "Djezaeri, Dr. Shams-ed-Dine". I was not able to find any information on Dr. Djezaeri or his 1938 thesis but I think "Shams" is the correct spelling.
Index			
208	Index A	item "Chämishgäzäk"	The spelling "Chamish-gazak" is used throughout the book, it is hard to see why the index item deviates from this.
214	Index D	item "Sūfi … *dädä* …"	The spelling "dada" is used throughout the book, it is hard to see why the index item deviates from this.
215	Index E	item "dūshulluk"	The item looks more like an entry in a glossary.

III. NOTE ON CURRENCY AND UNIT OF LENGTH CONVERSIONS

1980 reprint, page 153, footnote 6 and also page 179, footnote 2: "£3 6s. 8d" in 2025 money: approximately £119

1980 reprint, page 179, "cubits": In the Islamic world, as elsewhere, the cubit as a unit of length was originally defined as the arm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger. Several different cubit lengths were current in the medieval Islamic world, ranging from 48·25–145·6 cm (19–57⁵⁄₁₆ in). In medieval and early modern Persia, the cubit (usually known as *gaz*) was either the legal cubit of 49·8 cm (19⅝ in), or the Isfahan cubit of 79·8 cm (31⁷⁄₁₆ in). A royal cubit (*gaz-i shāhī*) appeared in the 17th century with 95 cm (37½ in).

COLOPHON

The entire book was designed and typeset using Adobe InDesign CC 2025 (20.4).

Unlike in the original edition, the English-language part was set in Adobe Minion 3 by Robert Slimbach; a variant of Monotype Aldus nova by Hermann Zapf was used for the Persian/Azerbaijani words. The Arabic quotation on page 4 was set in Adobe Naskh by Robert Slimbach.

All fonts were used in the OpenType PS format.

All additional glyphs required were created with Fontlab Studio 8 and exported as OpenType PS fonts.

The PDF 1.7 output was exported directly from InDesign.

I. HOW DID THIS EDITION COME ABOUT?

Sometime during 2023, I watched a programme on the Franco-German television channel "Arte" in which the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* was mentioned and some passages were quoted. My interest was piqued and I later searched for the *T.M.* on the Internet. I came across the PDF scans mentioned above; reading the first few pages, I asked myself "can I improve this typographically with modern means?" For one thing, the quality of the scans is not really great. Also, my InDesign skills were fading. A leisure project would be just what I needed.

The following points have emerged for this endeavour:

1. How would digital typography fare compared to the original?
2. What level of automation can be achieved? "Automation" here refers to automatically generated tables of contents, numbering of sections and lists, the creation of indices and the consistency of spellings in general.
3. How easy—or difficult—would it be to transfer the text to Adobe InDesign CC 2025 paragraph and character styles and to achieve a result that resembles the original?

I did not want to introduce major changes but also I did not want to create just a one-to-one digitised clone. Content changes were—of course—not planned, except possibly a spelling correction here and there. There should be no major typographical changes, except: Times New Roman was ruled out (as TNR was so overused since the early days of desktop publishing in the 1980s), for example. I also wanted a larger font size, in particular for the footnotes.

Neither the tables of contents nor the indices for this edition really needed to be automatically generated: a future change in content in either case is rather

unlikely (leaving only changed page breaks due to a changed page format as a rationale), but it turned out to be an interesting exercise.

All in all, I assumed that things would be fairly straightforward relative to the writing and editing processes as well as the typesetting machines of 1943. And also in absolute terms, as the content was all there, even in electronic format. Not only because digital typesetting is a marvellous technical achievement, but also because the typesetting software allows much more freedom than mechanical typesetting. Or so I thought.

But it was not straightforward.
Some of the issues I encountered are the subject of the following sections. A few technical terms are used, but no background knowledge is required to understand these sections.

II. TECHNICAL REALISATION

When it comes to InDesign CC 2025, following topics were either not possible or inconvenient to implement or required the installation of a separate script.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

InDesign CC 2025 is unable to align the page number right-justified for a two-line entry in the table of contents with a left indent and an indented second line (e.g. "Social and Economic Background of the Safavid State", page vii of the 1980 reprint). This is the reason why the entry "Social and Economic Background of the Safavid State" in this edition is on one line, unlike the original. It would work with a hanging indent, but I discarded this option as it would be a departure from the design principles of the original.

No matter what was selected in the "Numbers" dropdown of the "OpenType Features" in the Table of Contents Paragraph Styles, nothing changed. This is why the ToC uses mediaeval figures instead of proportinal lining figures or proportional mediaeval figures. This appears to be an InDesign CC 2025 bug.

FOOTNOTES

1. InDesign CC 2025 neither provides a way to split footnotes into more than one column (i.e. footnotes always span the entire main text) nor run-on footnotes which continue on the same line as the previous footnote. Accordingly, no more than one footnote can be set per line (unlike as in the 1980 reprint, e.g. chapter "Introduction", page 13, footnotes 5 and 6). There is a commercial

script available that provides more control over footnote layout; however, for the few cases in the *T.M.* where more than one footnote is set in a line, I decided against this option and also against a manual effort. Hence, in the end I resolved to stick with the standard InDesign CC 2025 capabilities for the layout of footnotes.

2. There is also no standard automatic way in InDesign CC 2025 to have the same footnote reference in multiple places on a page to refer to the same footnote (1980 reprint, e.g. chapter "Introduction", page 16, footnote 1). This means that the InDesign footnote counter increases each time a footnote is inserted into the body text. The only ways to circumvent this are
   - to repeat the footnote content for each footnote reference
   - faux footnote references which use the same character style as the automatic footnmote references
   - to insert a footnote that is just a cross-reference to a footnote on a previous page (but see item 3 below)
   - the commercial script mentioned above
   - to manually edit the tag structures in the final PDF.

   The solution chosen for this edition are
   - a faux footnote reference ("Introduction", page 16)
   - cross-references ("Introduction", page 20, "Commentary", page 130, footnote 1).

   The drawback of a faux footnote reference is that in electronic formats such as PDF and EPUB it cannot be clicked to jump to the footnote text. Worse, in the long run, both options also become a maintenance nightmare in case the page breaks change due to text or layout changes.
3. InDesign CC 2025 also lacks the ability to cross-reference footnote reference numbers. For a high degree of automation, this is not helpful. In fact, at the end of the exercise, I consider this missing feature to be a serious shortcoming for book production with InDesign.

LISTS

1. In the *T.M.* there are lists that use Greek letters as their numbering format. Unfortunately InDesign CC 2025 just supports a specific set of numbering formats: Numerals, Latin numerals and Latin letters. The best workaround appeared to be a custom font that replaces a number of Latin letters with their Greek letter equivalents.
   It is regrettable that InDesign CC 2025 does not support user-defined numbering formats, or at least provides additional numbering formats. In the age of OpenType fonts, this feature should not be so difficult to implement:

the InDesign Glyphs panel after all is perfectly capable of offering many glyph attribute options, so I assume half the implementation should already be available, on the premise that this feature can be implemented depending on the OpenType capabilities of the font being used.

2. In a few places the original edition uses a list design like:

   IX*a*. ʿAbbās II, 1071/1661. …

   IX*b*. Safī II = Sulaymān, 1078/1667. …

   (e.g. page 200 of the 1980 reprint) i.e. it looks like a multi-level nested list but in the example above there is no "IX" list item without the second-level list counter immediately following it. I was not able to emulate this style with InDesign CC 2025 (and it is actually hard to imagine an improvement to the paragraph style concept to support such a feature). I opted for the standard list behaviour, i.e. there is a first-level list entry "IX" and second-level list entries in the following lines. This change has been made visible by

   IX. [comprises]

   a. ʿAbbās II, 1071/1661. …

   b. Safī II = Sulaymān, 1078/1667. …

   I am not convinced "IX*a*." in the original was actually a good solution, even though it looks clear and concise at first glance. Ultimately, the layout of the parent list level is inconsistent. In this edition. the InDesign paragraph style concept is one of the cases in which the typesetting software imposes a structure on the author and hence on the content.

3. Similar to item 2. above, even something like:

   §5 (6a). The Qadī-ʿaskar. …

   (page 43 of the 1980 reprint) is difficult to implement without a separate paragraph style as the "(6a)" is located where in the usual definition of the numbering scheme a (larger) gap is defined to separate the counter from the content.

4. The printed original in some places uses list items like:

   §§15 and 16. There …

   InDesign CC 2025 list paragraph styles do not allow to define an interval of numbered list items. The automatic lists were interrupted in these cases, and additional Numbered List paragraph styles with the required "Start at" values were created for the following list entries. This is not an elegant solution, but any better one would have required scripting or changes to the content.

TABLES

The 1980 reprint uses a particular leader pattern in various places, mostly in tables. InDesign CC 2025 supports the creation of additional leader patterns, at least outside of tables. I have not tested this for tables, though. In short, a new

leader pattern is based on a GREP style in the paragraph formats used and an additional character format. Due to the number of paragraph formats for the tables, I could not bring myself to go for it, and in general I think this feature could be implemented more user-friendly by Adobe. This is why in this edition leaders are set in the familiar dot pattern. In some cases the leaders have been omitted.

INDICES

The *T.M.* has five indices (*A*–*E*). InDesign CC 2025 does not support multiple indices. This would be a very useful feature, and should not be too difficult to implement (actually, there are several scripts that implement this feature, so Adobe could consider buying the functionality, at least in part), but so far Adobe has chosen not to provide it. Since the workarounds for multiple indices did not look attractive, I licensed IndexMatic[3].

Since the index entries were author-selected and no change was intended, the approach was to convert the 1980 reprint indices to IndexMatic[3] Query Lists. The generated result contains hyperlinks that make it possible to jump to the corresponding page in electronic formats such as PDF and EPUB by clicking the page locator.

In general, then, the idea was to leave the index entries unchanged and to update the page locators automatically. That sounds like a limited task. But as it turned out, the changes in the indices were more extensive than anticipated. This is because of the idiosyncrasies of the original, the intended automation, and the inconsistent spelling of many words (see "Spelling" on page 258). Hence the indices did not become a one-to-one copy of the 1980 reprint. For example:

Tadhkirat al-mulūk 1, 5, 10 and *passim*

I like the *passim* (which I did not know before), because it seems such an elegant way of avoiding having to find and list all the occurrences of a frequently used term. One of the advantages of digital typography of course is that the search for all occurrences of a term such as "Tadhkirat al-mulūk" is done enormously quickly by computers and can be repeated as often as desired. Furthermore, *passim* clearly cannot work as a hyperlink. The *passim* was thus rendered obsolete by digital typesetting.

Another premise was never to output fewer page locators than the 1980 reprint, but more where appropriate. It was impossible to resolve why not all occurrences of a term were included in the original index. Hence, I decided to take everything IndexMatic[3] could find.

One further change compared to the 1980 reprint concerns cross-references: The indices of the 1980 reprint use *see* and *cf.* for cross-references. An example for *see*:

Maḥāll *see* Iṣfahān

(page 209 of the 1980 reprint), no surprises here. With *cf.* it is different: Although

I have only checked very few *cf.* entries, my assumption for this edition was that *cf.* is used as synonym of *See also*. For example:

beneficia (cf. *tiyūl*, *soyūrghāl*) 27

(page 213 of the 1980 reprint). *cf.* is usually an invitation to the reader to "compare" (*"confer"*) the index entry with the content of another entry, which may not even have the same topic[1] but which represents additional material. It is therefore not so different from *See also* in modern usage.

Indexing Books by Nancy Mulvaney suggests just *See* and *See also*. This means, *cf.* is no longer used in this edition. However, there is a catch: Since IndexMatic[3] implements its own rules for distinguishing between *See* and *See also*, simply replacing *cf.* with *See also* in the IndexMatic[3] configuration would most likely have resulted in a non-deterministic result. Consequently, the configuration was left unchanged. As a result, the indices are constructed in a consistent manner, although there may be instances in this edition where the subtleties of *See* and *See also* have been lost on some entries.

The number-span elision according to Oxford University Press rules (see *New Hart's Rules: The Oxford Style Guide*) was retained.

III. CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

FONTS

As mentioned, the main body of text is set in Minion 3. Originally the idea was to use a derived version of Garamond Premier Pro but the realisation of this idea turned out to be too time-consuming:

1. The Garamond Premier Pro font family is not as well developed as e.g. Times New Roman or Minion 3. For instance, most glyphs with a U+0323 dot below used in the *T.M.* are missing, both in upper and lower case and in the small caps variant. I added these letters in a font derived from Garamond Premier Pro. However, the technical implementation was initially incorrect: all additional small caps were displayed as U+FFFD (Replacement Character) in the InDesign Info panel. As it turned out, the Unicodes for the small caps are allocated differently by Fontlab today than in 2005 when Garamond Premier Pro was released. Worse, IndexMatic[3] did not like U+FFFD—words with code-point U+FFFD are not found. I also noticed that the OpenType features automatically generated by Fontlab 8 in 2025 apparently work differently from the original feature definitions in Garamond Premier Pro of 2005. Which is to say I should have kept the original OpenType features instead of generating them automatically, i.e. my fault. I have not been able to find a final explanation for this. The solution to the original Unicode codepoint

1 In this example, this seems to be the case: a *beneficia* reverted to the grantor after the death of the holder, as did a *tiyūl*, while a *soyūrghāl* became hereditary.

problem was to add the additional small cap glyphs separately as "substitute" lookup tables to the OpenType smcp feature.

2. I also added U+02BE (Modifier Letter Right Half Ring) and U+02BF (Modifier Letter Left Half Ring), and then the automatic substitution of the small cap dot-below glyphs no longer worked.

These technical challenges were not insurmountable. But it was quite time-consuming, and after reading a post on the Adobe Fonts Community website, I switched everything to Minion 3. On the plus side, Minion 3 is easier to read than Garamond as a PDF on high resolution monitors and moreover gives the book a fresher look.

DESIGN

(a) Layout

Initially I was thinking to retain the original dimensions of the 1980 reprint, including the pagination and the line-breaks. However, with the choice of Minion 3 together with the font size and the different page size (due to the scan provided by Academia and the Internet Archive I assumed a wrong page size when I started out) this turned out to be infeasible. Besides, I thought the result was quite good as it is now and left it at that. As a result, the footnotes are no longer identical to the original in terms of page and footnote reference. This is the main difference in the content of this edition compared to the 1980 reprint.

(b) Lists

In my opinion, the design of the lists could have contributed more to the clarity of the text. This is not a criticism, it is just something I have noticed.

For one thing, it is unclear to me why there are so many different list formats. I.e. hanging indent (for example, Introduction, page 18 which looks like a citation from the *Khuld-i barīn*. This list design is what I would have used for almost all lists in the book rather than the default list design of the book with just the first line indented (which does save space and hence paper, but still …), lists that are centred with a huge indentation, etc.

1. 1980 reprint, page 153: the indentation is quite large, the standard list layout would have done. Also, I think a numbered list would have been more appropriate as directly above the list the text states "…into three categories". Even better would have been the use of a table.
2. 1980 reprint, page 157: in the second paragraph there is an unitemised, non-numeric list. Why was it done like this? Here, the use of a table would have been more clear.
3. The lists that use Greek letters as their numbering format, e.g. on pages 176 and 202 of the 1980 reprint, were already mentioned above. In effect these are second-level lists that could have been treated like that by indenting them to

create a better visual impression.

4. 1980 reprint, page 203: Admittedly, these are run-in headers, not list items, but still: it is the only list in which the indentation is not vertically aligned with the indentation of the paragraphs. Strange.

In summary, the list designs could have been unified and thus made clearer.

CONSISTENCY

(a) Section Headers

One of the things I noticed was that some of the entries in the various tables of contents differ from the actual section headings in the text. I attribute this mainly to the lack of automation features at the time. Of course, it is impossible to resolve these inconsistencies in accordance with the author's intentions, so in almost all cases I have opted to use the actual section headings. But not always—I was not entirely consistent either.

Some examples of these inconsistencies:

Book Table of Contents:

1. The section-header "English Translation" on page 41 of the 1980 reprint does not include "of the Tadhkirat al-mulūk". This part of the wording has been omitted in the ToC of this edition.
2. Entry "Commentary", item "(*b*) Salaries and Fees": the header on page 150 of the 1980 reprint does not contain "and Fees". This part of the wording has been omitted in the ToC of this edition.
3. "Commentary", item (*e*): the entry was manually edited to include "Revenue" as well as "and Expenditure", which both are the titles of subsection headers of the "Budget" section.

Introduction, intra-chapter ToC, page 5 of the 1980 reprint: There are no subheadings "*(a)* Under Shah ʿAbbas" and "*(b)* Under the later Safavids" in section "§2 European Travellers". When reading the text, it is also difficult to determine where these subheadings could or should have been. Perhaps the intra-chapter ToC serves as a kind of summary.

For the other entries the deviations are:

1. §3*b*: the actual section header includes "of the T.M.".
2. A*e*: the actual section header has no "the".
3. B*aa*: the actual section header is "Dīvān-i Mamālik" rather than "Mamālik".
4. B*cc*: the actual section header is "Royal Buyūtāt" rather than "Royal Workshops".
5. B*dd*: the actual section header is "Military Forces" rather than "Military Organisation".

Commentary, intra-chapter ToC, page 173: Section "The Totals" on page 174 does not adopt the Greek numbering of the intra-chapter ToC (or vice versa).

The information in section "Revenue according to …" is not provided by J. Chardin but by "European Travellers".
Appendices, intra-chapter ToC page 187: "I. Turks and Iranians in Persia". Just seven lines down—ie. within the field of view—"I. Iranians and Turks" is used. Because of the reversal of order, the omission of "in Persia" and the proximity, I think this is the most amusing example of inconsistency in the whole book. Similar with the intra-chapter ToC page 197:

1. "*(a)* Chardin on Persian Bureaucracy". Just four lines down the "Persian" has disappeared.
2. "*(b)* Br.Mus.Or 4935." becomes "*(b)* The Documents of B.M.Or. 4935" on page 199.

(b) Spelling

The spelling of some words in the *T.M.* looks inconsistent to me. For example, there is:

1. Āzarbayjān, pages 124, 174
2. Āzarbāyjān, pages 165, 174
3. Azarbayjan, page 26

This also applies to other words. I could not see any pattern, except perhaps for variant 3: U+00AF macrons and U+0323 dot belows were—in most cases—apparently not used when the surrounding text consisted mainly of English words. However, I could not determine whether variant 1 or 2 is correct (or whether a failure to differentiate on my part is due to the quality of the scan). Irrespective of this, I sometimes had the impression that W. Heffer & Sons Ltd. had run out of U+00AF macrons and U+0323 dot belows.[1]
These different spellings increased the effort required to set up the IndexMatic[3] Query Lists from which the indices were created. As an example: For *Āzarbayjān* (Index A, page 208 of the 1980 reprint) the corresponding search term is:

/Āzarbayjān|Āzarbāyjān|Azarbayjan/ => Āzarbayjān

(= capture any occurrence of either *"Āzarbayjān"*, *"Āzarbāyjān"*, or *"Azarbayjan"*, and link all encountered matches to the topic *Āzarbayjān*). In other words: it was technically possible to include these variants. However, compared to the manual creation of the 1943 edition indices, which may have been done only once, this was a major effort. Although the goal of automation could be achieved, it was certainly not economical.

CROSS-REFERENCES

Cross-references that are clickable in pdf like "§§76, 79" were replaced by "§76, §79" as there is no way to have more than one destination in an InDesign cross-reference. It would have been possible to define different cross-reference

1 Just joking, my true assumption is that various parts of the book were set by different compositors, and at the end no one checked the consistency of the words used in the text.

formats, i.e. one for the beginning ("§§76") and one for the rest ("79"). However, I decided against this, partly because of the required additional cross-reference format. One consequence is that there is no number-span elision for clickable cross-references.

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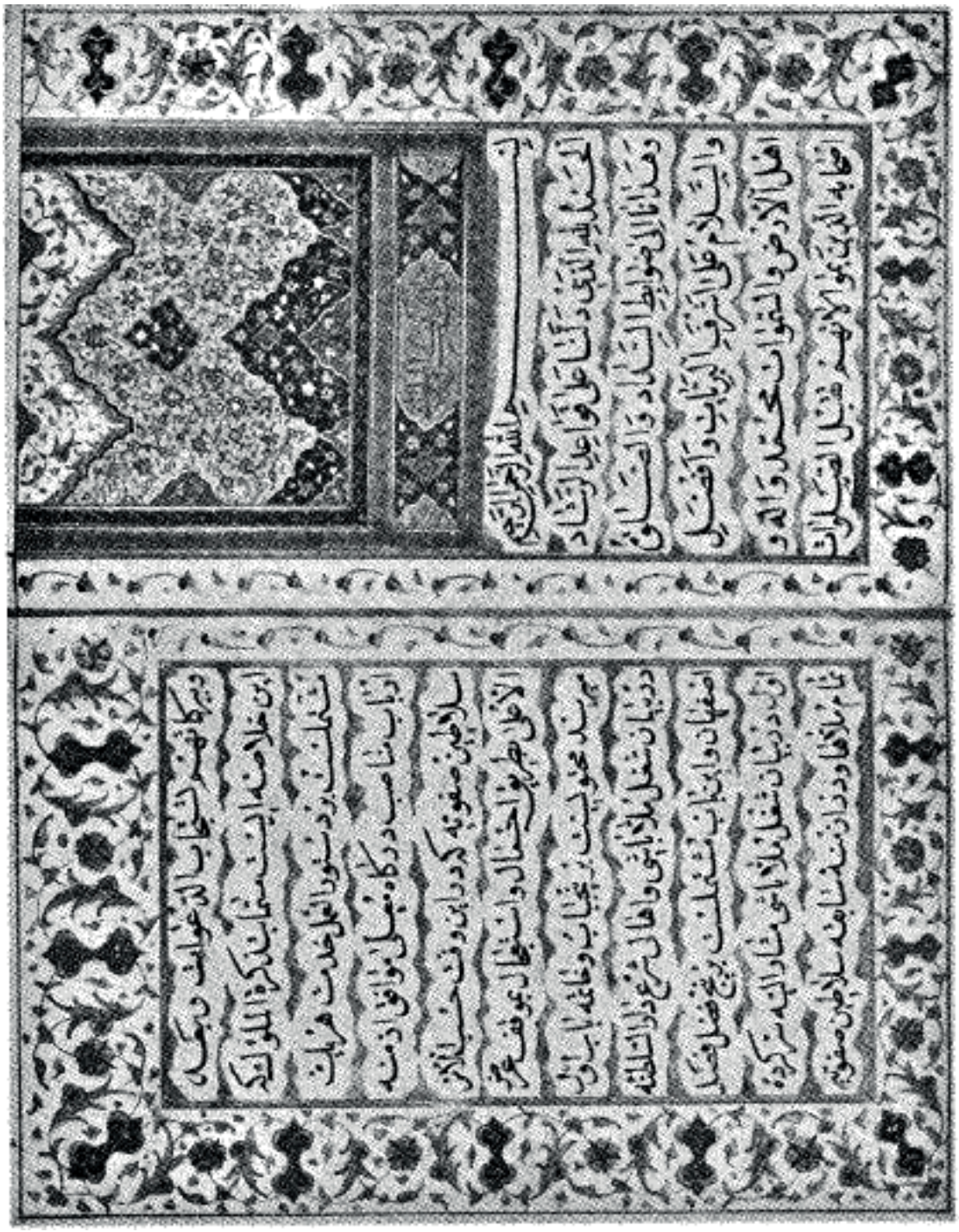

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و داد وستد وجوهات حلالرا نیز مینمود و
وجوه بر و صدقات را پادشاه نزد او میفرستاد
که بمستحقین رساند و بعد از فوت او ملا محمد
حسین نامی ملا باشی شده و بغیر از ندرسی
مدرسه مزبور بسایر اموری که ملا باشیرا
مرتکب بودند قیام و اقدام داشت فصل دوم
در بیان شغل صدارت خاصه و عامه مجملا
لازمه منصب مطلق صدارت نقیب حکما

شرع ومباشرین اوقاف تفویضی وریش سفیدی
جمیع سادات وعلما ومدرسان وشیخ الاسلامان
وپیش نمازان وقضاة ومتولیان وحفاظ وسایر
خدمهٔ مزارات ومدارس ومساجد وبقاع الخیر
ووزرای اوقاف ونظار ومستوفیان وسایر
عملهٔ سرکار موقوفات ومحرران وغسالان و
حفاران با اوست ودیوان احداث اربعه را
که عبارت از قتل وازالهٔ بکارت وشکستن
دندان وکور کردنست وعالیجاه دیوان بیکی
بدون حضور صدور عظام نمیرسد وحکام
دیگر شرع را مدخلیت در احداث اربعه نیست

و

وامور شرعی سرکار فیض اثار متعلق ومختص عالیجاه
صدر خاصه است وصدر ممالک را مدخلیتی
در ان نیست ومجملی از شغل مختصه هریک ه
بدینموجبست عالیجاه
صدر خاصه روز شنبه ویکشنبه با دیوانبیکی
در کشیکخانهٔ عالی قاپو بدیوان می نشیند
ودر محال ایران حکام شرع یزد وابرقوه ونائین
واردستان وقومشه ونطنز ومحلات ودلیجان
وخوانسار وبرورود وفریدن ورار ومزدج
وکیار وچاپلق وجرفادقان وکره وفراهان
وکاشان وقم وساوه ومازندران واستراباد

وکرابلی وحاجیلر وکبود جامه را صدر خاصه
نقیبین وامور متعلق بصدر خاصه را دزولایات
مفصله مذکور نایب الصدان وسایر مباشرین
صدر خاصه متوجه میشده اند عالیجاه
صدر ممالک صاحب اختیار نقیبین حکام
شرع ومباشرین موقوفات از مزارات ومدارس
ومساجد وغیرهم از کل ممالک محروسه از
اذربایجان وفارس وعراق وخراسان میباشد
سوی انچه در تخت اسم صدر خاصه تفصیل
یافته باصدر ممالک است ودر بعضی از
ازمنه سلاطین صدارت خاصه وعامه

یا

با یک شخص بوده مجملا عزل ونصب مباشرین
موقوفات اگر تفویضی بوده باشد بصدور
خاصه وعامه متعلق است واگر شرعی باشد
هیچ یک از حکام شرع وصدور امد خلیتی در
ان نیست بلکه شرعا هر کس را واقف اوقاف
متولی وصاحب اختیار قرار داده باشد مباشر
خواهد بود ونقیب ان مخالف شریعت مقدسه
بتولیت فصل سیم در بیان شغل قاضی داد
السلطنه اصفهان دستور ان بود که قاضی اصفهان
بغیر از جمعه در خانه خود بتشخیص دعاوی
شرعیه مردم موافق قانون شریعت غرا و

ملت بیضا میرسید وضبط مال غایب ویتیم را
بعد از زمان شیخ جعفر قاضی بهرکس قاضی اصفهان
میشد رجوع مینمودند و هر دعوائی را که قاضی
حکم شرعی انرا می نویسد دیوانیان اجری وحق را
بمن له الحق میرسانند فصل چهارم در بیان شغل
شیخ الاسلام دار السلطنهٔ اصفهان مشار الیه
در خانهٔ خود بدعواهای شرعی وامر معروف
ونهی از منکرات میرسید وطلاق شرعی را در
حضور شیخ الاسلام میدادند وضبط مال
غایب ویتیم اغلب با شیخ الاسلام بود و
بعد از ان بقضاة مرجوع شد فصل پنجم

در بیان شغل قاضی عسکر در قدیم الایام
قاضی عسکر در کشیکخانهٔ دیوان بیکیان بحکم
شرعی عساکر منصوره میرسیده وبعد از انکه
صدر در اصفهان تعیین ومقرر شد که دیوان
بیکی در حضور صدر بمرافعهٔ شرعیه عباد الله
رسد امدن قاضی عسکر بکشیکخانهٔ دیوان بیکی
متروک وشغل قاضی عسکر در اواخر زمان
سلاطین صفویه منحصر بان شد که عساکر نصرت
ماثر سواد ارقام تنخواه مواجب خود را که بممالک
محروسه میفرستادند بمهر قاضی عسکر میرسانیدند
ومادام که سواد ارقام تنخواه مواجب قشون

بهر قاضی عسکر نمی‌رسید بیکلربیکان و حکام
ولایات سواد مزبور را اعتبار و اعتماد نمودہ
تنخواه نمی‌دادند باب دویم در بیان منصب
هر یک از امراء عظام که لفظ عالیجاه مختص بایشانست
وان مشتملست بر یک مقدمه و چهار ده
فصل مقدمه در بیان تفضیل امراء باید دانست
که امراء ایران مطلقا بر دو نوع میباشند نوع
اول امراء غیر دولتخانه که ایشان را امرآء
سرحد میناماند و این نوع بر چهار قسم است
اول ولات دویم بیکلربیکیان سیّم خوانین
چهارم سلاطین امّا ولات در مرتبه منصب

و

زیاده

واعتبار از بیکلربیکیان میباشند و رتبه بیکلربیکیان
زیاده بر خوانین و در هر سرحدی که بیکلربیکی
نشین است جمعی که در حوالی و اطراف مملکت
او حاکم میشوند تابع و قول بیکلربیکی همانند
سمت و بعرض بیکلربیکی معزول و منصوب می
کردند و باین نسبت سلطانهای هر سرحدی
تابع خوانین همان سرحد میباشند و والی در
ممالک ایران چهار است که اسامی هر یک موافق
اعتبار و شرف ترتیب نوشته میشود اول والی
عربستان که باعتبار سیادت و شجاعت و زیادی
ایل و عشیرت از والیهای دیگر بزرگتر و عظیم

الشان تراست وبعد از ان والی لرستان فیلی
که باعتبار اسلام اعزاز والی کرجستانست و
ولات کرجستانات متعلقه بایران کرجستان
کاخیتل وکاخت وتفلیس است وبعد از مرتبه
والی کرجستان والی کردستانست که سنندج
محل سکنای ایشان میباشد وبعد از او حاکم ایل
بختیاری ودر قدیم الایام کمال اعزاز واحترام
داشته اند اما بکلربیکیان عظیم الشان ایران سه دولت
اول قندهار دوم شروان سیم هرات
چهارم اذربایجان پنجم خوارزم سعد ششم
فراباغ وکنجه هفتم استرباد هشتم کوکلویه

هشتم کرمان دهم مرو شاهی جهان یان دهم
قلمرو علی شکردوان دهم مشهد مقدس معلی سیزدهم
دارالسلطنه قزوین نوع دوم در ذکر امراء درد
دولت خانه مبارکه همکی در درگاه جهانپناه شاهی
حاضر وهریک بمنصب مخصصی سرافراز میباشند
که غرض از نشو بدا بن رساله تبث شغل مختص هریک
از ایشان وسایر ارباب مناصب اصفهان میباشد
اولا باید دانست که امراء درد دولت خانه چهار نفرند
ارکان دولت قاهره میناماند اول قوزچی باشی
دوم قوللر آقاسی سیم ایشیک اقاسی باشی چهارم
تفنکچی اقاسی واین چهار نفر باوزیر اعظم ودیوان بیگی

و واقعه نویس که مجموع هفت نفر میشوند از قدیم
الایام داخل امراء جانقی بوده اند و در اواخر زمان
شاه سلطان حسین در چند مجمع ناظر و مستوفی
الممالک و امیر شکار باشی داخل شدند و اگر جانقی
بخصوص فرستادن سپه سالار بسمتی از اطراف
ممالک محروسه باشد حضور سپه سالار در مجمع
جانقی شرط است فصل اول از باب دویم در
بیان تفصیل شغل وزرات اعظم عالیجاه وزیر
اعظم دیوان اعلی و اعتماد الدوله ایران عمده ترین
ارکان دولت و قاطبه امراء درگاه معلی و سرحدات
ولایات ممالک محروسه و داد و ستد کل مالیات

دیوانی و وجوهات انفادی خزانه عامره و غیره
بیوتات از کل ممالک ایران و دار السلطنه اصفهان
بدون تعلیقه و امر عالیجاه معظم الیه داد و ستد
نمیشود و ارقام تعیین مناصب و ضمن کل ارقام
البته باید اولا بمهر عالیجاه معظم الیه رسیده
ثانیا بمهر مهر آثار اقدس اعلی مزین گردد و باید
در توفیر و تکثیر مالیات دیوانی و ضبط کل
وجوهات ممالک محروسه و انفادیات نهایت
اهتمام نموده اگر احدی از قانون حق و حساب
و امور مستمره و معمول مملکت و ضابطه حقانیت
تخلف و تجاوز نماید ممنوع و اگر امراء و ارکان

دولت قاهره در ارتکاب امر خلاف قاعده مامور
ومنهی او ممنوع ومتقاعد نکردند بخدمت بندگان
قبله عالمیان عرض وبدایخ امر اقدس شرف
صدور یابد از انفراد معمول دارد وجمعی که ملازم
دیوان میشوند اگر دفتم بالمشافهه صادر نشده
باشد ورئیس سفهدان هر طبقه عرض نموده باشند
مادام که تعلیقه وزیر اعظم نرسد دفتم خدمت
وملازمت داده نمیشود واگر دفتی برسالهٔ احدی
از مقربان نوشته شود مادام که ضمن دفتم بمهر
وزیر اعظم نرسد بمهر مهر اثار مزین نمیکردد
وخدمات جزئیه وتعیین کتاب دفترخانه

همیون وخاصه وعملهٔ بیوتات معمون که قابل عرض
بخدمت اقدس نباشد از قرار تعلیقهٔ عالیجاه
وزیر دیوان اعلی که برطبق بخوین عالیجاهان
مستوفی الممالک وناظر بیوتات ومقرب الخاقان
مستوفی خاصه صادر شده باشد دفتم ملازمت
وخدمت داده میشود وموقوف بعرض اقدس
نمیشد ونسخجات محاسبات عمال وموذیان
حساب دیوانی کل ولایات از بیکلربیکیان
وحکام وسلاطین ووزرا وبخویلداران جزو
وکل ومتصدیان وضابطان وغیرهم بعد از
تعلیقهٔ عالیجاه معظم الیه دفتری ومستوفیان

عظام محاسبه مشخص و مفاصا حساب میدهند
واگر نقصانی و کسری در مالیات دیوانی بجهتی
از جهات حسابیه بهمرسد که در خدمت وزیر
اعظم مودّیان حسابیه موجه و محکوم به نمایند
بجهة تحصیل دعای خیر و تزیه حال رعایا و
آبادی مملکت چنانچه جمع قدیم را جبر و ادّعای
نقصانی احسابی ندانند تعلیقة تخفیف داده
کتاب دفترخانهٔ دیوان اعلی و خاصه شریفه
بتعلیقه وزیر اعظم مستند و همان شرح در
دفاتر خلود ثبت و بنقصان عمل مینمایند و
کشیکخانه در دولتخانه را بجهة دیوان

وزراء

وزراء اعظم بنا کرده اند که عامه خلائق
واجب العرض خود را بخدمت وزراء اعظم عرض
نتوانند نمود و همچنین تنخواه دیوانی و اسناد
خرج دفتری و مفاصای صاحب جمعان و
تحویلداران و تحصیلداران و تعقیبات مناصب
جز وکل بمهر وزراء اعظم رسیده بدانچه مقرر
دارد معمول میدارند و امراء هر یک بترتیب موافق
رتبهٔ منصب خود در کشیکخانه بدستور مجلس
هشت اینن در پهلوی یکدیگر می نشینند و بغیر
از امراء و ارباب مناصب و مستوفیان عظام
و خوانین عظیم الشان و وزرا و صاحب رقمان

در یکی کسی در کشیکخانه معمول نیست که بنشیند

فصل دویم از باب دویم در بیان تفصیل

شغل رکن السلطنة القاهره عالیجاه قورچی باشی

مشار الیه عمده ترین امراء ارکان دولت باهره

ورلیش سفید قاطبهٔ ایلات و اویماقات ممالک

محروسه و بتول و همه ساله و تنخواه قاطبهٔ قورچیان

ملازم دیوان بعد از تصدیق و تجویز عالیجاه

قورچی باشی برقم وزیر دیوان اعلی رسیده تنخواه

باز یافت و خدمت بالت و حکومت و سلطنت

و بوزباشی کری و بتول و مواجب قاطبه قورچیان

برطبق عرض قورچی باشی و تعلیقهٔ وزراء

اعظم شفقت مبیشده و امور متعلق بقورچیان

دارلیش سفید سرکار مزبور که عالیجاه قورچی باشی

بحقیقت رسیده قطع و فصل میداده و قورچی

باشیان عمده ترین ارکان دولت قاهره اند و از قا

و احکام ملازمت و مواجب و بتول و همه ساله

و انعام جماعت مذکور هر کدام که در سلک

قورچیان عظام منتظم باشند بطغرا و مهر

عالیجاه مشار الیه میرسیده و نسخهٔ سان قورچیان

وزیر و مستوفی سرکار مزبور در خدمت اشرف

در حضور عالیجاه معظم الیه بعرض میرسانند

و عالیجاه مذکور از امراء جانقی است فصل سیم

سیّم از باب دویّم در بیان شغل رکن الدّولة
العلیّة العالیة عالیجاه قوللر اقاسی است مشار
الیه بعد از عالیجاه قورچی باشی عمده زین امرآء
وارکان دولت باهره ورییش سپید قاطبه
غلامان سرکار خاصّه شریفه وبتول ومواجب
همه ساله وبراتی وانعام قاطبه غلامان بعد از
بجوبز عالیجاه مشار الیه برقم عالیجاه وزیر
دیوان اعلی رسیده بتخواه باز یافت وخدمت
ایالت وحکومت وبوز باشی گری ومیر
باشیگری وبتول ومواجب وانعام قاطبه
غلامان برطبق عرض قوللر اقاسی وتعلیقه

ورزیک

وزرآء اعظم شفقت میشده وامور متعلق بغلامان
دیش سپید سرکار مزبور که عالیجاه قوللر اقاسی
بحقیقت رسیده قطع وفصل میداده وارقام
واحکام ملازمت ومواجب وبتول وهمه ساله
وانعام جماعت مذکور بطغرا ومهر عالیجاه
مشار الیه برقم عالیجاه مشار الیه میرسد
ونسخه سان غلامان زر وزیر ومستوفی سرکار
مزبور در خدمت اشرف در حضور عالیجاه
معظم الیه بعرض عرض میرسانند وعالیجاه
مزبور از امرآء جانبی است فصل چهارم
از باب دویّم در بیان شغل ایشیک آقاسی باشی تفصیل

دیوان اعلی است مشار الیه ریش سفید کل
لیا ولان صحبت و ایشیک اقاسیان دیوان و
اقایان وقاپوچیان دیوان ولیا ولان وجارچیان
دیوان و امور و نسق مجلس از جماعت مجلس نشین
و ترتیب نشستن مجلس نشینان و ایستادکان مجلس
از اعلی تا ادنی متعلق با ایشیک اقاسی باشی دیوان
واکر خلاف قاعده در ترتیب قواعد مجلس بهرسد
از ایشیک اقاسی باشی باز خواست و بدستور
امراء ریش سفید قوزچی و غلام عالیجاه مشار الیه
ریش سفید کل اقایان و مواجب و بتول وهمه
ساله نوابین عالیجاه مشار الیه برطبق عرض عالیجا

مزبور اکر عالیجاه وزیر اعظم مقضی دارد رقم
صادر میکردد و کیفیات عوض جمعی که خواهند
در عوض معوض عنه خود ملازم شوند و کیفیات
مواجب برانی و همه ساله و بتول بیجو بزعالیجاه
مشار الیه و مهر او وارقام ملازمت و اضافه
مواجب نوابین معظم الیه و احکام بتول وهمه
ساله و مواجب برانی ایشان بطغرا و مهر معظم
الیه میرسد و لشکر نویس دیوان اعلی وزیر
و سرخط نویس دیوان اعلی مستوفی سرکار عالیجاه
مذکور و در اوقاتی که عالیجاه مشار الیه سان
نوابین خود را ملاحظه یا بسفرهای ایشان را مامور

نماید نسخجات سان را سرخط نویسان و محرران ان
سرکار نوشته و لشکر نویسان در حضور عالیجاه
مزبور میخوانده اند و حکمی که ریش سفید مزبور
در باره ایشان مینمود لشکر نویس و سرخط نویس
در تحت اسم ایشان مینوشتند و پیشکش نویس
سرکار خاصه شریفه نیز باعتبار اینکه پیشکشهای
نوروزی و غیره که بجهة پادشاهان می اورده اند
سوای اجناس خوراکی که پیشکش سرکار خاصه
مینمایند همگی را تفصیل و سیاهه نموده طومار
انرا بعالیجاه ایشیک اقاسی باشی میسپرد و اجناس
خوراکی که پیشکش می اورند سررشته ان با عالیجاه

ناظر

ناظر بیوتات و مشار الیه اضافه نویسی تعیین مینماید
که موافق طومار جمع و بمناسبت تحویل صاحبجمعان
بیوتات و مشرفان در روزنامچه عمل مینمایند
و اعلام پای بوس مناصب و پای بوس فرمودن
ارباب مناصب و جمعی دیگر که در مجلس بهشت
ائین مامور بپابوس میکردند شغل مزبور مختص
عالیجاه معظم الیه و دیگری را دخلی و نسبتی نیست

فصل پنجم از باب دویم در بیان شغل
عالیجاه تفنگچی اقاسی است مشار الیه ریش
سفید مین باشیان و یوزباشیان و جارچیان
و ریکایان و قاطبه تفنگچیانست و تیول و همه

سالہ ومواجب برانی وانعام کل نوابین مشارالیہ
بتصدیق وتجویز عالیجاہ معزی الیہ برقم عالیجاہ
وزیر دیوان اعلی رسیدہ تنخواہ بازیافت وخدمت
مین باشیگری وپوزباشی گری وجارچی باشیگری
ثفنکچیان وجارچیان ونعین جماعۂ ثفنکچیان
وبتول وہمہ سالہ ومواجب ایشان کہ برطبق
عرض عالیجاہ مشارالیہ برقم وزیر دیوان اعلی
رسیدہ باشد شفقت ورقم اشرف صادر
میگردد وامور متعلقہ بہ ثفنکچیان را عالیجاہ
مشارالیہ بحقیقت رسیدہ تمیز وتشخیص
میدادہ وارقام واحکام ملازمت وبتول وہمہ

سالہ

سالہ وتنخواہ برانی وانعام جماعۂ مذکور بطغرا
ومہر عالیجاہ مشارالیہ میرسد ونسخہ سان ثفنکچیان را
وزیر ومستوفی سرکار من بور دد خدمت اشرف
در حضور عالیجاہ معظم الیہ بعرض میرسانند
فصل ششم از باب دوم در بیان تفصیل
شغل عالیجاہ ناظر بیوتات است وشغل مشارالیہ
انست کہ در اول سال تعلیقہ مینوشت کہ
مشرف بیوتات اخراجات ششماہہ سرکار خاصہ
شریفہ را بمحصلی احدی بعد از وضع باقی
نقدی وجنسی واجناس ہمرسالجات کہ از ولایات
حسب الرقم مقرر بودہ کہ انفاذ شود بوقوف

صاحبجمعان تخمیناً براورد و وزیر پیوتات براورد
مزبور را بناظر پیوتات میخواند و خاطرنشان میکرد
و وزیر پیوتات درهمان براورد بخدمت اعتمادالدوله
چیزی مینوشت و ناظر مهر میکرد که اخراجات
ششماهه پیوتات سرکار خاصه را مشرفان بفلان
مبلغ براورد نموده اند مقرر دارند که مقرب الخاقان
صاحب جمع خزانه جامره وجه براورد را از قرار
قبوض الواصل همسازی صاحبجمعان نماید و صاحب
جمعان قبوض را بصاحبجمع خزانه سپرده وجه باز
یافت مینمودند و صاحبجمعان اجناسی که بایست
خرید از می کنند بعضی اجناس بود که سالی یکمرتبه

فقرد

قیمت مشخص میشد و مقرر بود که ناظر پیوتات
بعهده تا بپنی مقرر مینکرد که وزیر پیوتات و محتسب
الممالک و مستوفی اصفهان و رییس سفیدان
صنف را در یکجا حاضر سازند و همکی نشسته قیمت
اجناس بنا بر صرفه دیوان مشخص و نمونهٔ اجناس را
مهر نموده و قیمت ناچه را مامورین و ناظر پیوتات
مهر نموده بصاحب جمعان سپارند که انچه
اجناس بجهة اخراجات خاصه در عرض سال
احتیاج شود صاحبجمعان اجناس را موافق نمونهٔ
مهور خریداری و قیمت را از قرار قیمت ناچه
مذکور از بابت بتویلات خود مهمسازی

صاحب مال نمایند و بعضی اجناس دیگر را صاحب نسق
بایست ماه بماه التزام از ریش سفید هر یک
گرفته بمحتسب الممالک سپارد که او التزام مزبور را
ضبط و از روی انها تسعیرنامجات نوشته بمناسبت
بناظر بیوتات عرض و بحقیقت واقع ان برسد
و اگر داند که بعضی اجناس را قیمت زیاد نوشته اند
بنحوی که ظلمی نشود و بد دعائی در ضمن ان نباشد
کم نموده تسلیم صاحبجمعان نمایند که مشرفان
بیوتات موافق اخراجات بعد از وضع باقی
صاحبجمعان سند ابتیاع بانضمام ده نیم رسومات
بر ضمن تسعیرنامجه قلمی و ناظر مهر نموده بخرج

خود

خود مجری دارند و ناظر قدغن نماید که مشرفان
ماه بماه روزنامجات مقرریها را موافق مقرری
که بخدمت پادشاه عرض و سند گذشته باشد
و اضافه بجهة خاصه شریفه و مجلس و مهمانان
و غیره سوانح که روی داده باشد در ان باب
سند نوشته بمهر ناظر بیوتات داخل روزنامجات
نمایند و ماه بماه روزنامجات را بوزیر بیوتات
رسانند که وزیر مذکور با اسناد مقابله و خط
گذاشته ناظر مهر نموده بمستوفی ارباب التحاویل
سپارند که مشار الیه جمع و خرج صاحبجمعان
را مشخص نماید و انچه کارخانه جات خوراکی است

ششماه دیشتماه مشرفان وسال بسال مستوفی
جمع وخرج را مشخص مینمودند وهرگاه روزنامچه
واسناد پیرافتد مبلغهای کلی هرسال
بسرکار خاصه نقصان میرسد وبعضی که از ولایات
همه ساله مقرر بود ناظر محصل تعیین مینمود
که بولایات رفته اجناس را وصول وانفاذ
نماید وهرگاه اجناس مزبور بجهتی از جهات
انفاذ بپوتات نمیشد صاحبجمعان کیفیت بمهر
ناظر بپوتات رسانیده نزد اعتماد الدوله برده
عوض از خزانه یا ساپر وجوه دیوانی میگرفتند
وبدستور اجناس گرفته صرف مینمودند

وسالی یکمرتبه شان عمله بپوتات وبخویز مواجب
ورخصت ایشان با ناظر بپوتات است وهرجنسی را
در وقت خود که صرفه دیوان در آن بوده باشد
ناظر بخرد ومتبر ساز ذکا کرده عرض سال رزق
در قیمت اجناس بمرسد نقصان بمال دیوان
نرسد وسالی یکمرتبه شتران ناظر دیده بیجا قی
ولاغری وزبونی واسقاط شتران برسد ودر
اول پائیز بعهده معمار باشی کند که ملاحظه
تعمیر عمارتی که از لوازم باشد نموده بنا بن
صرفه دیوان نخواهد بدهد وپادشاه بهرکس
انعام وخلعت شفقت کند باید سندان

رسالد

بخط اعتماد الدوله و مهر ناظر برسد و اقمشه
که مقرر است که بجهة لباس خاصه شریفه
و خلاع فاخرهٔ امرا و غیرهم سال بسال داده شود ناظر در
اول سال تعلیقه نوشته اعتماد الدوله رقم
کند و توابین ناظر بالکا رفته انفاذ نمایند و
قدغن حمامات و یخچالها و اوردن هیمه زمستانی
بجهة مطبخ و غیره همگی را باید ناظر در وقت خود
بقدر اخراجات سالیانه حاضر کند و جو و کاه
بجهة اخراجات طوایل و شترخان سرانجام کند
و روز بروز بخوبی و بدی و کم و زیاد اخراجات
و طعام خاصه و خادمان رسیده تحویلداران

اجناس

اجناس زبون بخرج ندهند و ناظر قدغن نماید
که تحویلداران و عملهٔ بیوتات مال رعیت و فقیرانرا
نکشند و نبرند و چیزیرا بیرضای صاحب خریداری
نکنند که بد دعائی حاصل شود و قیمت موافق
انچه مشخص شده بدهند و هر قسم اخراجاتی
که در بیوتات واقع شود بدون اطلاع ناظر
نباشد و احدی از غلامان و ملازمان پادشاه
بدون تعلیقه ناظر از کارخانه جات چیزی
نبرند و عالیجاه ناظر بیوتات ریش سفید و صاحب
اختیار کل سی و سه کارخانه بیوتات
معموره و ریش سفید صاحبجمعان است حتی

امیر اخور باشی وجبا دار باشی وعرض مطالب
مستدعیات اکثر صاحبجمعان بنا ظر بیوتات تعلق دارد
فصل هفتم از باب دویم در بیان شغل عالیجاه
مقرب الخاقان دیوان بیکی است مشار الیه از
جمله امرای عظام وخانه زاده در منصب مزبور
است که هر هفته چهار روز باتفاق صدور
بکشیک خانه که مختص دیوان بیکان بوده است
امده احداث اربعه را که عبارت از قتل وازاله
بکارت وکور کردن چشم وشکستن دندانست
از کتخدایان بحکم صدور باز خواست نموده
بنا بر دیوانهای ارباب رجوع کل ممالک محروسه

وبر ظلم وزیادتی که واقع میشده وتخواهی که اهل
شهر وده ها ت زیاده بر پنج تومان با یکدیگر
داشته اند میرسیده اند واجرای احکام شرعیه
واجرای احکام شرعیه وضبط ونسق شهر کرد
اذا قویا بر ضعفا ستم وتعدی واقع نشود نیز
بدیوان بیکیان متعلق است وجمعی که از ظلم و
تعدی یا احداث اربعه وغیره بدیوان بیکی
شکایت میکردند اکر ظلم مزبور در حوالی شهر
که مسافت ان پیش از ده دوازده فرسخ نبوده
واقع میشده دیوان بیکی تعلیقه بیاضی بر
طبق عرض عارض بعهده قورچی اجر لو وغیره

تا بپنان نوشته غور رسی مینمود و اگر عارض
از محال بعیده عرض شکایتی مینموده دستور
چنان بود که در مقدمه قتل مبلغ بخومان الزام
عارض و دیوان بیکی تعلیقه قلمی و منشی دیوان
هم تعلیقه قلمی و بعد از ان حکم صادر و وجه
الزام ابوابجمع محصل مزبور و حکم مزبور در دفتر ها
ثبت و بدستور سابق بر وجهات داد و ستد میشد
و در روز دیگر از روزهای هفته در خانه
خود بدعواهای حسابی عرفی میرسیدند و هریک
از دعواهائی را که دیوان بیکی متوجه میشد
اگر دعوی در باب مالیات دیوان یا طرف

دعوی از جمله از باب قلم توابین وزیر اعظم بود
بخدمت وزراء اعظم میفرستاده و هم چنین اگر
احدی از طرفین دعوی فوجی یا غلام یا ساپر
عساکر منصوره و عمله بیوتات بوده بر پیش سپید
هر سرکار رجوع مینموده و سایر سکنه اهل شهر
را بخصوص دعاوی که تعلق بمال دیوان
نداشته خود متوجه شده قطع و فصل میداد
و اگر جمعی از مردم و لایات بشکایت بیکدیگر
و حکام و سلاطین خود باردوی معلی می آمدند
و عرض مطلب خود را بوزراء اعظم مینمودند
بدیوان بیکی عرض مینموده باشند دیوان بیکی

بحقیقت شکایت هر باب رسیده بخدمت پادشا
کیفیت شکایت ایشان را عرض و از قراری که مقرر
بصلاح دولت و ضابطه مملکت میدانستند
غور رسی مینموده اند فصل هشتم از باب دوم
در بیان تفصیل شغل عالیجاه امیر شکار باشی است
مشار الیه از جمله امرای عظیم الشان و جمیع
قوشچیان تابین مشار الیه و نصدیق خدمت
ایشان و عرض مطالب و استدعای انعام تواچی
نسبت بعالیجاه مشار الیه دارد و کیفیات
طلب و تنخواه و پتول و همه ساله جماعت نرون
بعد از تجویز عالیجاه مذکور بر قلم عالیجاه وزیر

اعظم رسیده تنخواه داده میشود و هر ساله
مبلغی از قرار تعلیقه عالیجاه معظم الیه از
دفتر خانه همیون اعلی بصیغه تحصیل قوشچیان
که مومی الیه تعیین نموده باشد تنخواه داده
میشود و بعد از وصول مبلغ مزبور را عالیجاه
معزی الیه فیما بین تواچیان خود بدستور معمول
قسمت مینماید فصل هفتم از باب دوم
در بیان تفصیل شغل عالیجاه توپچی باشی است
مشار الیه ریش سفید هوزباشیان و میرآخوران
و توپچیان و جارچیان توپخانه راست و پتول و
مواجب و همه ساله و براق و انعام تواچیان مشار الیه

برطبق تجویز عالیجاه مزبور برقم عالیجاه وزیر دیوان
اعلی رسیده تنخواه بازیافت وخدمت مین باشیکری
ویوزباشیکری توپچیان وجارچی باشیکری و
جارچیان توپخانه وتوابین ایشان وتعیین مواجب
وتیول وهمه ساله کل جماعت مزبوره برطبق عرض
عالیجاه مزبور شفقت وبعد از تعلیقه نمودن
عالیجاه وزیر دیوان اعلی رقم اشرف صادر میگردد
وامور متعلقه بتوپچیان وتوپخانه مبارکه را
عالیجاه مشار الیه بحقیقت رسیده تمیز وتشخیص
میداده وارقام واحکام ملازمت وتیول وهمه
ساله وتنخواه براتی وانعام جماعت مذکوره بطغرا

ومهر

ومهر عالیجاه مشار الیه میرسیده ونسخه سان توپچیان
را وزیر ومستوفی سرکار مزبور در خدمت اشرف
در حضور عالیجاه معظم الیه بمعرض عرض میرسانند

فصل دهم از باب دویم در بیان شغل عالیجاه
امیراخورباشی جلو است خدمت مشار الیه
آنست که در حین ملاحظه می نماید بعد از آن
بتصدیق عالیجاه امیراخورباشی می اندازند عالیجاه
مزبور سوای جلوداران خاصه که جلودارباشی
تصدیق مینماید تتمه عمله اصطبل را که بشرح
فوق عرض شده با نعل بندان وبیطاران ایشان
تصدیق میکنند وبعد از آن برقم عالیجاه وزیر

نمودن نواب کامیاب سبان طوایل سرکار خاصه شریفه ودواب شکستی وغیره که باصطبل میاورند ودر وقت سواری فرمودن جلوهای خاصه باید ونظم وحق طوایل وتعیین امیراخور
ومهتران وسقایان طوایل با مشار الیه میباشد وتعلیقه جات ملازمت جماعت مذکوره وجلوداران خاصه وخادمان وخواجه سرایان وغلامان وسایر عمله را امیراخوربان جلوی نویسند
وطوامیر سان جماعت مذکوره را که عالیجاه ناظر مویات ملاحظه

دیوان اعلی رسیده تنخواه میدهند فصل پانزدهم
از باب دوّم در بیان تفصیل شغل عالیجاه امیراخور
باشی صحرا است خدمت مشارالیه انست که
سال بسال باتفاق ناظر دواب عرضها بلجهای سرکار
خاصه ونتاج انها را ملاحظه وطومار عرض
بخط مشرف درست داشته ببرکار ارباب التخاق
رسانند وعلیق وضروریات ایلجهای مذکور باشود
معمول از قرار براورد مشرفان که بتصدیق وتجویز
امیراخور باشی صحرا وناظر دواب رسیده باشد
تنخواه داده میشود وضبط ولنق فورقات نسبت
بعالیجاه مشارالیه دارد وتعیین امیرانوزان بلوک

باشیان ومهتران وغیره عملهٔ ایلخی موقوف بتصدیق
وتجویز عالیجاه مشارالیه است فصل دوازدهم
از باب دوّم در بیان تفصیل شغل عالیجاه مقرب
الخاقان مجلس نویس محفل بهشتاین تفصیل شغل
واقعه نویسان انست که جواب نامهای که از پادشاه
ایران نوشته شود واقعه نویس انشا نماید واقعات
مناصب وملازمت وهمه ساله وبتولی که از
دفاتر خلود صادر شود وهرکونه رقمی که پادشاه
بزبان مقرّب دارد که از مشافهه میکوینده با
اینکه از قرار تعلیقه عالیجاه وزیر دیوان اعلی
یا اینکه بعتبه حسب الامر الاعلی امرا ومقربان

برساله خود چیزی نوشته بواقعه نویس سپارند
باطلاع وطغرا قلم مداد واقعه نویس ارقام مذکور
میکذرد وطغرا کشیدن ارقام بقلم سیاهی مختص
واقعه نویس وبدیکری نسبت ندارد وعالیجاه
مزبور از جمله امراء جانقی وانیس وجلیس مجالس
خاص وعام وعرایض وفصول امرا وحکام که
از ممالک محروسه بپایه سریر اعلی فرستاده شود
پادشاه همکی را نزد مجلس نویس میفرستند که در
خدمت اشرف فصول وعرایض را در مجالس خاص
وعام خوانده جواب انرا قلمی مینمایند وانچه را
باید رقم صادر شود از قرار یادداشت بمسوده

واقعه

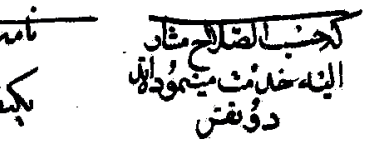
واقعه نویس رقم نویسان توابین واقعه نویس قلمی
مینمایند وجواب فصول را واقعه نویسان در
تحت هر فصل بشرحی که امر اشرف صادر کردد بخط
خود قلمی ودر سررشته خود ثبت مینمایند و
وتوابین واقعه نویسان ده نفر بدینموجب بوده اند
وعرایضی که بخدمت نواب اشرف داده شود عرض نمودن

رقم نویسان وسررشته دار ارقام
هفت نفر

رقم نویس دیوان اعلی و	رقم نویسان ارقامی
سه نفر دیکر که بکومک او	که بمسوده دفتر صادر
مقرر وسررشته دار ثبت	میشود
ارقام اند پنج نفر	دو نفر

که حسب الصلاح عالیجاه معظم الیه بخدمات

دفتری وغیره از جانب او قیام نموده اند



عرایض بواقعه نویس نسبت دارد ومطالبی که
در عرض مناصب وغیره امور متعلقه بدولتخواهی
عرض مینموده اند رکاه مقرون بصلاح دولت
بوده اعتبار واعتماد منکرده اند وهر ساله مبلغ
سی تومان بصیغه کاغذها از وجوهات
اصفهان بجهة تحریر ارقام وثبت وسررشته
دفاتر ان تنخواه میداده اند وهر گاه استدعاء
عرض مطلبی از خود ودیگری داشته بدون ممانعت

در مجالس خاص وعام بخدمت پادشاهان میرفته
وعرض مینموده اند وهر گونه عریضه که هر کس
بخدمت پادشاه بدهد خواندن عرایض وجواب
نوشتن در خدمت بندگان اشرف بدیگری
غیر از مجلس نویس نسبت ندارد وبهمین جهت وقایع
نویسان را مجلس نویس مینویسند ودر میان ارباب
قلم بغیر از وزیر اعظم در رتبه خدمت وتقرب
زیاده بر واقعه نویس دیگری نیست وهمیشه
از قدیم الایام واقعه نویسان در خدمت پادشاهان
در مجالس خاص وعام مینشسته اند ودر بعضی
امور جزئی وکلی سخن واقعه نویسان وعرض

ایشان مناط و معتبر بوده فصل سیزدهم از باب
دوم در بیان تفصیل شغل عالیجاه مستوفی الممالک
مشار الیه از جمله امرای عظام و شغل و عمل مشار الیه
عظیم است و تمامت مالیات دیوانی که در کل
ممالک محروسه داد و ستد میشود باید از قرار
تنخواهی که مشار الیه از دفتر نویسند و بعمال هر ولایت
دهند مستند خود ساخته از انقرار بدون
زیاده و کم داد و ستد نمایند و تمامت بتولات
و جمیع سالیانات بیکلربیکیان و خوانین و حکام
و سلاطین و رسومات وزراء و مستوفیان و
کلانتران و مواجب ارباب قلم و سایر عساکر

منصون و وظایف و سیورغالات و غیرهم و کیفیات
دفتری که بمهر مشار الیه رسیده باشد داد و ستد
و تنخواه داده میشود و وزراء دیوان اعلی بدون
تصدیق مشار الیه از مالیات دیوانی چیزی داد
و ستد نمی نمایند و در مالیات دیوانی تصدیق
و تجویز مشار الیه مناط اعتبار و اعتماد است و محررین
دیوان اعلی بعد از تصدیق دیش سفید هر سرکار
و تجویز مشار الیه تعیین میشود و ناظر و داروغه
دفتر و صاحب توجیه و ضابطه نویس و اوارجه
نویسان و غیرهم همگی جزو مشار الیه و از وجوهات
سرکار خاصه و ارباب التحاویل کداد و ستدان

با مستوفی خاصه و ارباب التحاویل است انچه مشارالیه
رسد رساند ایشان تنخواه میدهند و ارقام ملازمت
و احکام تنخواه کل ملازمان اعم از انکه تنخواه از دفتر
دیوان و خاصه و ارباب التحاویل نکند رد سوای
ارقام و ظایف و معافیات و غیره سرکار خاصه
تمه بمهر مشارالیه میرسد و باز خواست نقصانات
محرران دفتر دیوان با عالیجاه مشارالیه است
و مستوفیان جزو ممالک محروسه بتجویز عالیجاه
مشارالیه باید تعیین نمود

کتاب

سرکار مزبور که بشغل محرری در خدمت

عالیجاه

عالیجاه مستوفی الممالک فیام دارند

صاحب

فرمان عالیجاه مشارالیه که حسب الارقام ملازم
دیوان بودند بتخفیف و شغل و خدمت ایشان ان
بوده که کیفیات وارقام و احکام ملازمت و تنخواه
و همه سالجات و پتول و ظایف و معافیات و سیورغالات
و غیره نوشتجاتی که متعلق بدادوستد دفتری است
ملاحظه و تصحیح نموده انچه مقرون بحساب باشد
بمهر و بخط عالیجاه مشارالیه رسانیده و انچه
خلاف حساب باشد جواب دفتری قلمی و بصاحب
کاغذ رد نمایند محرران سرکار خالصه کردفتر بود

ببعالیجاه مشارالیه وبجهة استخضار وهم قلی
سابر سرکارات خرج ارقام مناصب وملازمت
واحکام ولایات وهمه سالجات وتنخواه بران و
انعام وسپورغالات ومعافیات وغیره وجوهات
داد وستدی دفتر را ثبت مینمودند وچهار
نفر محرر بودند که حال هیچیك موجود ودر قید
حیات نیستند فصل چهارم از باب دوم در
بیان تفصیل شغل عالیجاه خلیفة الخلفا است
شغل مشارالیه انست که بدستور زمان شیخ
صفی الدین اسحق در شبهای جمعه در ویشان و
وصوفیان را در توحید خانه جمع وبذکر کلمه
طیبه لا اله الا الله بطریق ذکر جلی اشتغال ودر
شب جمعه نان وحلوا وطعام ودر سایر اوقات
نان وطعام مقرری درویشان را صرف مینماید و
دو نفر خلیفه وخادم باشی وچند نفر عملهٔ توحید خانه
وخلیفه در کل ممالك محروسه بجهة امر معروف
ونهی منکر تعیین میشود بتعلیقهٔ خلفا تعیین و
رقم برطبق ان شرف صدور مییابد باب سیم
در بیان منصب هریك از مقربان که لفظ مقرب
الخاقان ومقرب الحضرت مختص ایشانست وان
مشتملست بر دو مقاله مقالهٔ اول در ذکر
شغل جمعی از مقربان که بسبب زیادتی تقرب

وربته خدمت ایشان را مقرب الخاقان میتویسند
واین مشتملست بر دو نوع نوع اول در بیان
خواجه سرایان صاحب منصب اولاد ذکور منه
سلاطین سالفه صفویه خواجه سرای سعید
بوده واز خواجه سراهای سپاه هر کدام عاقل و
زیرکتر و بخدمت پادشاهان لایق تر بوده اند ایشان را
رئیس سعید خواجهای حرم علیه عالیه نموده
امر و نهی کل خواجه های سپاه با رئیس سعید
و سر کرده مزبور بوده عرایضی که امراء سرحد نزد
ایشیك اقاسی باشیان میفرستاده اولا عرایض
بدست ایشیك اقاسی باشی حرم محترم کشیك

خانه معتبری داده میشده وایشیك اقاسی باشی
حرم برئیس سعید خواجهای حرم داده مشارالیه
در اندرون حرم بنظر پادشاه رسانیده جوابرا
می آورده وامرا را در کشیك خانه ایشیك اقاسی
باشی طلب وخود مینکفته که پادشاه در جواب
عریضه چه نحو مقرر فرموده وخواجه سرای معتبر
دیگر که در قفدر و مرتبه واعتبار برابری با
رئیس سعید حرم مینموده اورا صاحب جمع خزانه عامره
وکل نقد و جنس خزانه اندرون و بیرون را
باو اعتماد مینموده اند وکلید دار خزانه بین
خواجه سپاه وتابین صاحب جمع خزانه وکل علمه

خانه

خزانه تابع فرمان خزانه دار و در کمال استقلال و
اعتبار بوده اند و در زمان شاه عباس ماضی
صد نفر از غلامان گرجی سفید را خواجه
نموده یکی که از همه معتبرتر بود بود یوزباشی ایشان
نموده اند و یوزباشی دیگر بجهة خواجه سرایان
سیاه تعیین و باو نیز صد نفر تابین از خواجهای
سیاه داده تا زمان شاه سلطان حسین یوزباشی
اقایان سفید ابرهیم اقا و یوزباشی اقایان سیاه
الیاس اقا بوده هریک از یوزباشیان در دور
حرم محترم عمارتی و دستگاهی و تیول و مواجب
معینی خود و توابین ایشان بنحوی که از سررشته

دفاتر معلوم میگردد داشتند و خدمت نظارت
و جبادار باشیگری را که در زمان سلاطین سلف
با مقربان قزلباش بوده شاه سلیمان و شاه سلطان
حسین بخواجهای سفید تفویض نمودند مدتی
محمود اقا اولا جبادار باشی و ثانیا ناظر و بعد از
فوت او جبادار باشیگری با اسمعیل اقای خواجه
سفید و نظارت بقزلباش برگشت و خدمت
مهتری رکیب خانه نیز با خواجه سرایان معتبر
بوده و خدمت نزدیک و نگاه داشتن قابلق
دستمال مختص مهتران رکاب خانه است
و غلامان خاصه در پشت سر پادشاهان

ایستاده میشوند لله مخصوصی داشتند و غلامان
ساده کوچک که مادام ملتحی نبودند و ریش نداشتند
لله مخصوص و معلم مخصوص داشتند که ایشانرا
تربیت مینمودند بعد از آنکه ریش برمی آوردند
و بزرگ میشدند داخل یوزده و توابین قوللر آقاسیان
میگشتند نوع دویم از مقاله اول در بیان شغل
مقربانی که داخل خواجه سرایان نیستند و ایشانرا
مقرب الخاقان مینویسند و این نوع مشتملست
بر هشت فصل فصل اول در بیان شغل مقرب
الخاقان حکیم باشی است مشار الیه ریش سفید
اطبای سرکار خاصه شریفه و انیس و جلیس

مجالس

مجالس عام و خاص پادشاهان و معزز و مکرم بوده اند
و شغل مشار الیه آنست که طبابت ذات اقدس
و وجود مقدس که جانها فدای نام مبارکش باد
نماید و ملاحظه نبض بمشار الیه تعلق دارد و
بدیگری نسبت ندارد و مواجب و انعام و ملازمت
اطبا بتصدیق و تجویز و عرض مشار الیه ممضی و
وزراء اعظم و ناظران بیوتات از انفراد معمول
و عطار باشی سرکار خاصه شریفه از جمله توابین
عالیجاه مشار الیه و منع اطبای غیر ملازم از شغل
طبابت هرگاه وقوفی نداشته باشد بمعظم الیه
متعلق است و اگر احدی از ولات و بیگلربیگیان

استدعای طبیب از خدمت نواب اشرف نمایند
یا سپه سالار و سرداری که تعیین شود طبیب
شود طبیب خواهد تعیین طبیب بعالیجاه مشار
الیه مقرر میشود و اطباء زمان شاه سابق سوی
میرزا رحیم حکیم باشی سابق که مبلغ چهارصد تومان
مواجب همه ساله داشته موازی شصت و
هشت نفر ملازم دیوان و یکهزار و هفتصد و
نود و شش تومان و ششهزار و سیصد و شصت
و شش دینار در وجه اطبای سایر از همه ساله
و تنخواه براتی مقرر بوده فصل دویم در بیان
شغل مقرب الخاقان منجم باشی است مشار الیه

هر روزه بدستور اطبا بدر دولتخانه حاضر میباشد
که اگر پادشاه و مقربان بجهة بنای امری و اختیار
سفری و رخت نو پوشیدن و بریدن تحقیق ساعت
سعد فرمایند عرض نمایند و در خسوف و کسوف
و روز مولود سلاطین وجوه تصدقی که قورچی
باشیان و سایر امرا بنظر آفتاب اثر میرسانیده اند
در اوایل ازمنه سلاطین بعضی اوقات افضل و
اصلح فضلاء عصر که در درگاه معلی حاضر بوده اند
بمستحقین تقسیم مینمودند و در بعضی اوقات منجم
باشیان قسمت میکردند و در ایامی که ملا باشی
تعیین شد وجوه مزبوره را مومی الیه باهل استحقاق

قسمت مینمود ملخص اینکه رسانیدن وجه تصدق
خسوف وکسوف در روز مولود بجماعت مستحقین
بمنجم باشی یا ملا باشی بی نسبت نیست فصل سیم
در بیان شغل مقرب الخاقان معیر الممالک است
شغل متعلق بمعیران از قدیم الایام الی الان انست
که استادان بوقوف واطلاع ایشان طلا ونقره را
بعیار ووزن مقرر بدون غل وغش در ضرابخانه
باتمام رسانیده بسکه که بنظر افتاب اثر رسیده
سکه کنان ملازم دیوانی منقوش نموده باشند
زر وسیم را مسکوک وچون رونق ورواج امور
سلطنت منوط بخطبه وسکه خلافت است

واعتماد سکه را بمعیران نموده اند باین تقریب صاحبان
این خدمت در کمال اعتماد واعزاز واحترام بوده
جمیع امور متعلقه بضرابخانه را سلاطین خلافت
مکین بمعیران رجوع ومحرم مجلس خاص وعام و
در عرض مطالب از شرف بساط بوسی مجالس خاص
وعام ممنوع نبوده مستدعیات خود را بدون
واسطه مشافهة عرض وپادشاهان سابق هرگونه
خدمتی ورجوعی بضرابخانه میداشته اند معیران
را بحضور طلب فرموده مرجوع میساخته اند
واگر ضرابی باشی بغیر معیر دیگری بوده تصدیق
وتجویز معیران را در عزل ونصب ضرابی باشیان

ومشرفان مناط ومعتبر میدانستند وعزل و
نصب وتنبیه وبازخواست سکه کنان و
حکاکان وصرافان وزرکشان واستادان نر
دستگاه مفصله ذیل وکل عمله ضرابخانه

دستگاه ستاکی

عملهٔ دستگاه مزبور طلا مغشوش را بخلاص و
نقره کم عیار را بقال گذاشته خالص مینمایند

دستگاه قرص کوبی

قرص خالص را بجهة ساختن زر میکوبند

دستگاه اهنگری

بعد از انکه قرص کوب کار خود را تمام نمود

دردستگاه اهنگری بشکل میل اهنگری شمش مینمایند

دستگاه چرخ کشی

بعد از اهنگری عملهٔ چرخ کشی طلا و نقره را از
حدیده فولاد بیرون می کشند

دستگاه قطاعی

طلا و نقره را ساختن نقود قطع مینمایند

دستگاه کهله کوبی

انچه از شمش قطع شده بجهة عیاسی و پنجشاهی مینمایند

دستگاه سفید کری

عملهٔ مذکور چهره زر را سفید کری مینمایند

دستگاه نخش کنی

که بمیزان نظر عباسی کم وزن را جدا نموده مجدداً میگذارند

دستگاه سکه کنی

استادان سکه کن هر روزه بشغل سکه کنی اشتغال

مینمایند

شغل مختص بمعیران و عمال دیگر را دخلی نیست

وحسب الرقم اشرف مقرر است که ضابطان و

مستاجران و عمله و فعله ممالک محروسه و زرکشان

و زرگران و صرافان و زرکوبان و مسگران و

غیرهم بدون اطلاع و وقوف معیران و گماشتگان

ایشان داد و ستد ننموده خود را بعزل او معزول

و بنصب او منصوب شناسند و تمام عیاری

طلائی که از خلاص بیرون می آید آنست که عیاران

با عیار اشرفی کهنه دوبتی برابر باشد و عیار

طلا خلاصی روپوش نقره باید بعیار دوبتی کهنه

رسیده باشد و در دستگاه نقده سازی طلا

روپوش صد پنج معمول و اگر زربفت بسیار زرین

سنگین مقرر شود که یافته شود اعلی را صد ده

و اعلی اعلا را صد پانزده روپوش مینمایند

و علامت نقره کامل عیار آنست که از سطح قرص

نقره بعد از برآمدن از کوره قال شاخچها بشکل حباب

سر میزند و بهمین جهة نقره خالص را شاخدار میگویند

و کمال خوبی عیار آنست که اگر صد مثقال از نقره

شاخدار را بگذارند زیاده بر چهار دانگ الی یک مثقال
کسر بهم نرساند و حاصلی را که زرابی باشیان
ضابط و تحویلدار اند و بجهة سرکار خاصه شریفه
ضبط مینمایند واجبی میگویند و واجبی سرکار دیوان
از طلا و نقره که در ضرابخانه مسکوک میشده در سوابق
ایام بدینموجب بوده و ثانیاً و معیران تدریجاً بجهة

طلا
از قرار مثقالی سی دینار

نقره
از قرار مثقالی دو دینار

کفایت سرکار دیوان بر قدر واجبی افزوده طلا را
از قرار مثقالی پنجاه دینار و نقره پنج دینار استمرار
داده بودند و در سالی که شاه سابق بقزوین
حرکت مینمود وزن عباسی را هفت دانگ مقرر

وبعد

و بعد از معاودت از سفر مزبور قبل از ایام محاصره
اصفهان محمد علی بیک معیر الممالک بجهة توفیر
سرکار دیوان اعلی و مزید انتفاع سرکار خاصه بخدمت
شاه سابق عرض و یک دانگ از وزن عباسی را
کم نموده عباسی را شش دانگ مسکوک و یک دانگ
نقره اضافه را علاوه واجبی نموده از آن تاریخ الی
نه ماهه سال جلوس شاه محمود واجبی ضرابخانه
بهمان دستور شاه سابق بدین موجب ضبط و انفاذ میشد

طلا
مسکوک از قرار مثقالی
پنجاه دینار

نقره
از قرار مثقالی سی و سه
دینار نیم
طسوج و شعیرین

واجبی سابق
پنج دینار

سبع یک مثقال [illegible]
دینار نیم و طسوج و شعیرین

وچون بخدمت شاه محمود عرض نموده بودند که وزن
عباسی از قرار دشش دانك سکهٔ پادشاهان را بپذیرد
و بوقوع میکند در شهر رمضان المبارك نوشقان جل
مقرر فرمودند که عباسی را در ضرابخانه بوزن پنج
شاهی نردانك و نیم سکه نمایند و واجبی طلا و نقره بنحو

طلا — از قرار مثقالی بدستور سابق — نقره

مسکوك	روپوش نقره	مسکوك از قرار مثقالی	نقل و نقش حلقه
پنجاه دینار	صد دینار	ده دینار	شانزده دینار

بجهة سرکار خاصه ضبط شود و تفاوت بر طرف
باشد و باین جهة رواج سکهٔ پنجشاهی بحدی
رسید که بعد از سکه شدن باطراف میبردند

و در شهرهائی که اطاعت نکرده بیرون رواج دارد
و قلابی که صرفه نمیکند که باین وزن زر سکه
نماید و الحال سکهٔ نواب کامیاب اقدس اشرف
اعلی نیز پنجشاهی بوزن نردانك و نیم زمان شاه
محمود و طلای اشرفی بدستور قدیم چهاردانك
و نیم سکه میشود و کمال رواج و رونق الحمد لله
در اصفهان و تمام اطراف ممالك محروسه
دارد و در عهد سلطنت سلاطین سلف کل
منافع واجبی ضرابخانه در سال اعلی که تجار و شر
بسیار از اطراف می آورند و نقده سازی
و فلوس کاری در عین معموری شهر که چهارصد

عمله موجودی دزنه دستگاه ضرابخانه هر روزه
کار میکرده اند پانصد تومان الی ششصد هفتصد
تومان باجاق میداده اند که مستاجر از کل اجاره
دیوانی موازی یکهزار عدد اشرفی و یکصد
دستجه کله که قیمت انها تخمیناً دویست و پنجاه
تومان بدینموجب میشود انفاد خزانه عامره و
وسیصد و پنجاه تومان دینکرا بمواجب معین
وضرابی باشی وسایر ارباب حوالات سرکار خاصه
شریفه میداده اند و بغیر از همان مبلغ فوق
چیزی انفاد خزانه عامره نمیشده و شانزده یک
از وجه واصلی سرکار خاصه شریفه در وجه

معین المماالک از قدیم الایام الی الان مقرر و مستمر
فصل چهارم در بیان شغل مقرب الخاقان منشی
المماالک است شغل مشار الیه انست که پروانجات
مبارک اشرف و ملازمت و بتول و همه ساله و نخوا
مواجب و حکمهائی که دیوان بیکی میدهد همگی را
منشی المماالک بسرخی و اب طلا بدینموجب

باب اولی
که حکم بجا نطاع شده مینویسد در
حکمهائی است که دیوان بیکی
میدهد

باب ثانی
که فرمان همیون شد مینویسد بر
احکام تنخواه و طلب ملازمان و بتولات
وسیورغالات و همه ساله
عساکر

باب ثالثی
که فرمان همیون شرف نفاذ یافته
مینویسد در جواب نامها و مثالهائی
که صدور میدهند

طغرا میکند و شجره صوفیان و سیورغالات

ایشانرا منشی الممالک مینویسد و در توابین او در دار
الانشا بیست و هشت نفر بدین موجب بوده اند

بابتی	بابتی
منشی دیوان یکنفر است	محرران دار الانشا بیست و هفت نفر

بالفعل هیچیک موجود نیستند و طغرای اب طلا
و سرخی مختص قلم منشی الممالک و بدیگری نسبت
ندارد و از جمله مقربان در بار گیتی مدار و باز
یافتگان مجالس خاص و عام و تصدیق ملازمت
و مواجب محرران و منشیان دار الانشا و اهلیت
و قابلیت ایشان بمقرب الخاقان مزبور متعلق است
و همیشه در ازمنه سلاطین منشیان ممالک
معزز و محترم و بصفت کمالات اراسته بودند

فصل پنجم در بیان شغل مقرب الخاقان مهردار
مهر همیون از قراری که از سررشته مهردار
سابق معلوم میشود در زمان قدیم اولا سیصد و
شصت و چهار تومان و بعد از ان هزار و سیصد
شصت تومان و پنج هزار و سیصد و شصت و یک
دینار تیول از محال قم و غیره داشته و در بعضی
اوقات تیول مزبور ضبط و در عوض ایالت و حکومت
بایشان داده اند و در بعضی ایام بدستوری که
که معمولست شغل مهرداری بدون تیول داده
شده و در این ایام مهرداری مهر همیون را
قبله عالم بدستور سابق بمقرب الخاقان

الله داد بیك شفقت فرموده اند و شغل مشار
الیه از جمله مناصب عظیمه و مجلس نشین
مجلس بهشت آئین است و شغل مهرداری
در قدیم الایام آن بوده که ارقام وزارتها و
استیفاها و کلانتریها و سیورغالات و معافیات
و تیولنامجات امرا و حکام و غیره را بعد از ثبت
دفاتر بمهر ثبت مهر همیون که نزد مهردار مزبور است
و در ضمن ارقام در گوشهٔ عنوان مهر مینموده
و در اواخر این ضابطه مضبوط نبود بلکه رسوم
خود را از قرار تصدیق دفتری باز یافت می
مینمودند فصل ششم در بیان شغل مقرب

الخاقان

الخاقان مهردار مهر شرف نفاذ شغل مشار الیه
آنست که ارقام و احکام امرا و وزرا و مستوفیان
و لشکرنویسان و قاطبهٔ ارباب مناصب جزو
و کل را که در اردوی معلی یا ممالك محروسه
ایران تعیین میشده گوشه ضمن ارقام را در برابر
مهر همیون بمهر کوچك شرف نفاذ مهر نماید و چنانچه
صاحبان مناصب رقم منصب خود را بجهة مدافعهٔ
رسوم مقرره خود را از سررشتهٔ دفاتر توجیه
دیوان اعلی مشخص و معین و بقلم ارباب حوالات
دیوانی داده عوض از وجوه معینه باز یافت
و ارقام مناصب خواه بمهری که در نزد مهر

بمهرداران نمیداده اند تصدیق رسوم مقرره

داران ضبط است میرسیده یا نمیرسیده رسوم
مستمری خود را اخذ مینموده اند و رسوم مهردار
مهر شرف نفاذ بدین موجب است که بصیغه
دوشلك هشتصد و سی و پنجدینار در سال اول

آنچه ارقام ایالت و حکومت و سایر مناصب جزو و کل ممالك محروسه بازیافت مینمایند از هر تومانی سیصد و سه قاز بیکی	آنچه از ارقام سیورغالات و معافیات بازیافت مینمایند از قرار هر تومانی پانصد بیست دینار

قبض و اخذ مینمایند و در سنواة بعد بدستور
مهر همیون دوشلك مجددی ندارد فصل هفتم
در بیان شغل مقرب الخاقان دواتدار مهر انگشتر
افتاب اثر ارقام بیاضی و دفتری را واقعه نویسان
طغرا میکشند مشار الیه بمهر مهر اثار میدهد

مواجب و مساوی ششماههٔ ان تیول دارد و از
براوردی مداخل امرا و حکام و غیره که منصب
بایشان داده میشود از هر تومانی مبلغ یکصد
دینار رسوم در سال اول میگیرد و از ارقام ملازمت
از قرار تومانی پنجاه دینار دوشلك بازیافت می
نماید و از ارقام تنخواه و اجارات بقرار تومانی
بیست و پنجدینار میگیرد و در مجلس عام در صف
قورچیان یراق در پهلوی دواتدار قدیمی که دوات
دار پروانه جات است ایستاده میشود فصل هشتم
در بیان شغل مقرب الخاقان دواتدار ارقام و
احکام و پروانجات که عالیجاه منشی الممالك طغرا

میکشد مهردادن ان مختص دواتدار مذکور است
ومبلغ سی تومان مواجب وششماههٔ تیول واز
ارقام ملازمت پنجاه دینار دوشلک دارد واز ارقام
تنخواه که از سرکار ممالک میکذرد واجارات
سرکار ممالک نیز ظاهر از هر تومانی مبلغ نیم شاهی
بازیافت مینماید وجای او که می ایستد انست
که در صف قورچیان یراق در پهلوی قورچی صدق
که مهردار مهر شرف نفاذ نیز بود ایستاده میشد
مقاله دویم از باب سیم در ذکر جمعی که ایشان را مقرب
الحضرت می نویسند وان مشتملست بر دو صنف
صنف اول مشتملست بر چهار فصل فصل

اول

اول در بیان شغل مقرب الحضرت ایشیک اقاسی
باشی حرم محترم خدمت مزبور را بجمعی که پیرتر و
قدیمی تر و در دربار پادشاهی محرم تر و بصفت
صلاح وتدین وراستی اراسته بوده اند مرجوع
مینموده اند وشب وروز در در حرم حاضر بوده
قاپوچیان حرم وایشیک اقاسیان حرم تابین و
تابع فرمان او میباشند ونسق در حرم وامر ومنع
ونهی مردم اجنبی وبیکانه مختص ایشیک اقاسی
باشی حرم است وتصدیق مواجب وخدمت
توابین مزبور با مقرب الحضرت ایشیک اقاسی باشی
مشار الیه است فصل دویم در بیان شغل

یساولان صحبت و یساولان صحبت بغیر از امراء
زاده معتبر دیگر کسی نبوده و در قدیم هشت نه
نفر بیشتر نبوده اند در مجلس خاص ایشان بجای
ایشیک اقاسی باشی خدمت و در مجالس عام
در برابر پادشاه ایستاده میشوند و خدمت مجلس را
ایشیک اقاسیان می نمایند و همگی تابین ایشیک
اقاسی باشی دیوان اعلی و تصدیق مواجب و خدمت
ایشان بعالیجاه مشار الیه متعلق است فصل
سیم در بیان شغل ایشیک اقاسیان
مجلس جماعت مزبور را از امرا زاده و غیر از امرا زاده از اقایان
معتبر هر کدام لیاقت خدمت حضور دارند

ایشیک اقاسی مجلس و در مجالس عام خدمت
مینمایند و تابین ایشیک اقاسی باشی و تصدیق
مواجب و خدمت و امر و نهی ایشان با ایشیک
اقاسی باشی دیوانست فصل چهارم در بیان قاپوچیان
دو قاپوچی باشی مقرر است یکی قاپوچی باشی
دیوان و یکی قاپوچی باشی خلوت و هر یک جمع
کثیری توابین دارند امر و نهی در دولتخانه میدان
و سمت مطبخ و سمت چهار حوض با قاپوچیان دیوان
و از خلوت مختص قاپوچی باشی خلوت و ایشان
و توابین ایشان تابین ایشیک اقاسی باشی دیوان
و تصدیق مواجب و خدمت و امر و نهی ایشان

باعالیجاه ایشیك آقاسی باشی دیوان اعلی است
وهمکی بیاولان صحبت وایشیك آقاسیانرا
مقرب الحضرت میتوبسند صنف دویم مشتمل است
برذکر شغل صاحبجمعان بیوتات وان مشتملست
برهجده فصل ودوضابطه ضابطهٔ اول دربیان
شغل صاحبجمع خزانه عامره وسایر بیوتات معمور
مجملا خدمت ایشان انست کرانچه بجهة اخراجات
سالیانه هرکارخانه ازنقد وجنس ازقرار براورد
مترفان احتیاج داشته باشد تفصیلی باعرضه
نوشته نزد ناظر بیوتات اورده بعد ازتحقیقات
لازمه وتشخیص باقی وفاضل هریك بعد احتیاج

وزیر

وزیر بیوتات ازجانب ناظر شرحی بخدمت وزیر
اعظم قلمی ازقرار تعلیقهٔ که برقسم عالیجاه وزیر بس
دیوان اعلی رسیده صاحبجمعان بیوتات ازان
قرار قبض نوشته بخواه باز یافت وقبوض صاحب
جمعان مادام که بخط وزیر بیوتات ومستوفی
ارباب التحاویل ومهرناظر نرسد بخویل بایشان
داده نمیشود ضابطهٔ اول دربیان شغل هریك
ازصاحبجمعان بیوتات معمور وان مشتملست
برشانزده فصل فصل اول شغل صاحبجمع خزانه عامره
انست که صاحبجمع مزبور مقرب الخاقان وانچه
انقد وجوهات ممالك محروسه وداراالسلطنه

اصفهان متعلق بسرکار دیوانست بتحویل صاحبجمع
خزانهٔ عامره مقرر بود و هریک از عمال و حکام و
مباشرین مالیات دیوانی تاخیر در وجوه انفادی
خزانهٔ عامره مینمودند صاحبجمع خزانه بجهة وصول
انفادیات خزانه توابین خود را محصل و بولایات
فرستاده وجوه تحویلی را وصول و ابوابجمع خود می
نمود و وجوه مالیه اصناف اصفهان و مدد خرج
مهمانان که سه هزار تومان میشود محمد مؤمن خان
و شاه قلی خان وزیر اعظم هریک در ایام عمل بتحصیل
تابین باشی خود مقرر داشته بودند اقا کمال صاحب
جمع بخدمت پادشاه سابق عرض و حاجی مهدیخان

معتمد

معتمد خود را محصل و هر ساله مومی الیه تمام و کمال
وصول و انفاد خزانهٔ عامره مینمود و انچه انفس
اجناس سرکار خاصهٔ شریفه است خواه از
جواهر یا اقمشهٔ نفیسه پیشکش از کتاب و سمور
و زربفت و سایر اجناس بسیار تحفه در خزانه
عامره بتحویل مشار الیه مقرر و صاحبجمع خزانه در
نهایت اعتبار و کمال اقتدار و کلیددار خزانه
نیز از معتبرین خواجه سرایانست فصل دویم
در بیان جباخانه از صاحبجمعان عظیم الشان جبادار
باشی است که کل عملهٔ جباخانه تابین او و مواجب
و تصدیق خدمت هریک از عملهٔ سرکار مزبور

بتجویز ریش سفید سرکار مزبور است و مشرف جباخانه
نیز معتبر و تمام وجوه تحویلی قورخانه مبارکه از
الات و ادوات حرب مکلل بجواهر و غیره و سرب
و باروط باطلاع و سررشته مشرف سرکار مزبور
بتحویل صاحبجمع مقرر و کل اجناس قورخانه انچه در
جباخانه خاه انچه در جباخانه ایروان و سایر قلاع
و ولایات که در انها قورخانه شاهی میباشد جبادار
باشی تحویلدار تعیین و حکام ولایات تمکین
و توقیر او مینمایند و مشار الیه از جمله اعاظم
مقربان و معتبرین درگاه پادشاهان میباشد
فصل سیم از جمله مقربان مقرب الحضرت صاحب

جمع قیچاچیخانه خاصه و تفصیل شغل صاحبجمع مزبور
بموجبی است که در تحت دو دفعه نوشته میشود
دفعه اول در بیان تحویل اجناسی است که بصاحب
جمع مزبور مناسبت دارد از انجمله لباسهای
خاصگی پادشاهست باین طریق که اقمشه
نفیسه که بجهة پوشش سرکار خاصه بجهة
قطع انتخاب میشود صاحبجمع خزانه عامره تحویل
قیچاچیخانه خاصه نموده در ساعتی که منجم باشی
تعیین و بعرض اقدس رساند خیاط باشی در
حضور معتمد عالیجاه ناظر و صاحبجمع قیچاچیخانه
و مشرف قطع و حاصل ان که ان لباس دوخته

باشد بانچه از لباسهای دوخته که در سرکار
مزبور جمع است بتحویل صاحبجمع مذکور مقرر است
دیگر اقمشهٔ انعامی و خلعتی و انچه مبیع شود بتحویل
صاحبجمع مزبور مقرر است و طریق ابتیاع اقمشه
در سرکار مزبور باین دستور است که باید عالیجاه
ناظر ارباب خبرت و بصیرت را حاضر و بوقوف ایشان
قیمت مشخص و قیمت نامچه را بمهر اهل خبرت رسانید
بر طبق ان سند ابتیاع قلمی گردد و اقمشهٔ کاشان
و سایر ولایات بدستور مذکور قیمت مشخص
و انا نقرار در ضمن توامیر انفاد قبض الواصل قلمی
و بخرج وزرا و عمال محرر میگردد و اموال سنگین نیز

بمناسبت

بمناسبت در سرکار مزبور تحویل میشود و قبای
که بجهة امرای عظام خلعت سنگین دوخته می
شود حکم قبای پوشیده دارد در سرکار مزبور
جمع است و سمور و لندره نیز بتحویل صاحب جمع
مزبور مقرر است دفعهٔ دویم در ذکر توابین صاحب
جمع مذکور خیاط جوراب دوز چاقشور دوز لندره دوز
اتوکش حلاج صافکر کلاه دوز فصل چهارم از جملهٔ
مقربان صاحبجمع قپچاجیخانه امرائیست و بیان شغل
و ضابطهٔ سرکار مزبور انست که خلعتی که بحکام
و وزراء و کلانتر و مین باشیان و یوزباشیان
و سایر جماعت که در مرتبهٔ امرا نباشند و در

کاشان و اصفهان دوخته و داده شود در سرکار
مزبور تحویل میشود و اگر از قبا و بالاپوش خلعت
شفقت شود قاعده الست که هر کس مشافهه
از پادشاه شنیده باشد عریضه بخدمت وزیر
اعظم نوشته بعد از انکه عریضه برقم وزیر دیوان
اعلی و تجویز عالیجاه ناظر رسد قبا و بالاپوش از
سرکار مزبور داده میشود و هرگاه تاج وهاج خواهند
بکسی دهند در سرکار مزبور از زربفت بوم
زر و غیره دوخته اولا در سرکار مزبور جمع و ثانیا
بخرج داده میشود فصل پنجم از جمله مقربان مشعلدار
باشی است و تفصیل شغل مشار الیه دو باب است

باب اول در ذکر تحویلات اوست و تحویل او بدین
موجب است مقالی (وقالیچه) تکیه (نمد و دوشک) خیمه (وانچه متعلق باو) سیه (سوز)
شمع (ناف) سوزنی موم شمع صابون طناب بنواد
بید (تکه الوان) کلیم نمد (بور) میلک مثقالی چیت
دالبر لندره طشت (مس) کاغذ (پنجره) سریش
فانوس موچکدان پرتهای (چوبی) کجاوه (مع کجاوه پوش)
باب دویم در ذکر جماعتی که تابع و تابین فراش
باشیان میباشند بدینموجب است خیمه (دوز)
لندره (دوز) چراغچی شماعی فراش
صندوق (ساز) فصل ششم در بیان شغل صاحب جمع
میوه خانه و غیره اجناس متعلقه بمیوه خانه خربزه

پیه گداخته

فراش باشی

خیار انگور رب انار تمر هندی سبزی زرد الوا
وغیره میوها بالتمام است وظروف طلا و نقره
ومس بقدر احتیاج تحویل صاحبجمع مزبور میشود و
تحویل بدستوری حویجخانه است فصل هفتم
در بیان شغل صاحبجمع غانات انچه گوسفند از
هرجا اورند باید در حضور معتمد ناظر کشته شود
وگوشت ودنبه وپیه خام وکله وپاچه و
جگر وپوست او تحویل وضبط شود وهرگاه گوسفند
در سرکار نباشد وگوشت از بازار بخرند
هرماه قیمت ان از قرار تسعیر صاحب نسق و
محتسب الممالک وریش سفیدان صنف که

که در حویجخانه نوشته شده باز یافت مینمایند و اخراجات مقرری و اضافه بدستور

بمهر ناظر رسد ابتیاع شود که نقصان بمال
دیوان نرسد وبره وانچه بجهة صرف خاصه
وخادمان احتیاج باشد استاد قصابان
قیمت نامچه بقید التزام نوشته تسلیم نماید
که از انقرار بخرج مجری گردد فصل هشتم
در بیان شغل صاحبجمع ابدارخانه وغیره تنگ و
جام انجوری از طلا الات وغیره ومطهره وحسینی ونقره و
وجوال یخ کشی واسباب یخچالها ودولچه تحویل
مشار الیه میشود فصل نهم در بیان شغل
صاحبجمع شترخان واسبابی که بتحویل صاحبجمع مزبور
داده میشود واسباب مزبور از جل وتکلتو وجوال

ونمد وافسار وریسمان وانچه متعلق بشترخانست
ابوابجمع صاحبجمع سرکار مزبور میشود وسالی یکمرتبه
ناظر بمرافقت وزیر بیوتات ملاحظهٔ شتران
ونیک وبد انها مینمایند وانچه از شتران تلف
شود از قرار تمغا بخرج صاحبجمع مجری وتمغا را در
حضور ناظر باتش میسوزند فصل دهم در بیان
شغل صاحبجمع قهوه خانه قهوه دانهای طلا ونقره
ومس وقرا افتابها وقهوه بریان کن وپیاله و
سینی تحویل مشار الیه میشود فصل یازدهم
در ذکر تحویل تحویلداران عمارات مبارکات
انچه از قالی وتکیه ونمد وجاجیم وطاقچه پوش

وغیره است تحویل تحویلداران عمارات وقالی تکانیدن
وجاروب کردن متعلق بسرایدار است فصل
دوازدهم در بیان شغل صاحبجمع رکابخانه رخوت
حمام خاصه وانچه متعلق بانست ولحاف
وناز بالش وپشتی مخصوص خاصه ولباس خاصه
ومفرشهای طلاطین که در سفر اسباب خادمان
بسته میشود وکفش وچکمه وجوراب وجانماز
وانچه متعلق بانست فصل سیزدهم در بیان شغل
صاحبجمع مشعلخانه ونقاره خانه مشاعل طلا و
نقره ومس ودنبه وپیه وروغن چراغ وجزغاله
ونواله وکوس ونقاره وکرنا ونفیر وسرنا

وانچه متعلق بنقاره است وعمله نقاره خانه ومشعلخانه
بتابینی مشعلدار باشی مقرر است که سال بسال
از قرار تومار سان که بمهر ناظر ورقم اعتماد الدوله
رسد مواجب بازیافت مینمایند فصل چهاردهم
در بیان شغل صاحبجمع انبار انچه جو وکاه وبونجه
وقصیل که بجهة دواب علیق طوایل وقطار استران
بوده باشد وانچه جل وپیراهن وتنک وافسار
وقنطرغه وپابند وسطل ونعل ومیخ وکمند
وپارو ونمد بالاپوش وتوبره وروشنائی طوایل
تحویل انبار دار باشی میشود فصل پانزدهم در بیان
شغل صاحب جمع اصطبل انچه اسب واستر

والاغ

والاغ که در سرکار بوده باشد تحویل صاحب
جمع سرکار مذکور میشود فصل شانزدهم در بیان شغل
صاحبجمع شربتخانه معموره وشغل صاحبجمع مزبور انست
که انچه اجناس که متعلق بشربتخانه است که تحویل
او شود ظروف طلا ونقره وچینی وکاشی ومس
وشکر وقند وعقاقیر وقهوه وتنباکو وشیشه
وسرونی وغیره اسباب غلیان وهلیله وامله
وغیر مربیات واب لیمو وکلاب وغیره عرقها
وترشیها وعطرها وغیره است ودر باب مقرری
خاصه وخادمان ومقربان وجیره خواران از
قراری که روز اول سند محکوم به شده باشد

هر روز بخرج خود مجری نماید و آنچه اضافه هر روز
دهد از قرار سندی که هر روز محکوم به گردد
مجری دارد و بدون سند چیزی بخرج خود ننویسد

فصل هفدهم در بیان شغل ضرابی باشی مشار الیه

باید که متوجه باشد که ضرابیهای سکه زن بدستور
مقرر در اشرفی و عباسی سکه کاری نمایند بنحوی
که عیب و علتی نداشته باشد و احدی از
ضرابیان خیانتی در سکه ننمایند و متفحص بود
در هر جا قلابی بهم رسد صاحب نسق را مطلع
ساخته هرگاه تقصیر جزئی نموده او را باز خواست
و تنبیه و چنانچه تقصیر او عظیم و گنجایش عرض

داشته باشد بخدمت نواب همیون عرض
نماید که آنچه مقرر گردد عالیجاه دیوان بیگی
بعمل آورد و اهتمام نماید که نقده سازی در
ضرابخانه در جای دیگر ننمایند و نگذارد
که زر مغشوش سکه کنند و ضرابی باشی تحویلدار
مال دیوانست که مشرف ضرابخانه وجه واجبی را
بفرموده و اطلاع معیر الممالک ابوابجمع ضرابی
باشی نموده و روز بروز روزنامچه قلمی و بنظر
معیر الممالک میرساند و ماه بماه حساب او را
حسب الواقع تشخیص دهد و نویسنده که معیر
الممالک تعیین نموده که با مشرف هم قلم است

مقابله نمایند که اختلافی در وجوه تحویل ضابط
تمام نرسیده نفصان بمال دیوان نرسد وعزل
ونصب ضرابی ومشرف نیز وتحویل معیر الممالک
مقرر است فصل هجدهم در بیان شغل صراف
باشی خزانه عامره مشار الیه را خدمت است
که انچه اشرفی وزر سفید از ولایات ووجوهات
بخزانه عامره اورند صاحب جمع باز یافت ومشاد
الیه وصرافان در حضور صاحب جمع ومشرف وموکل
باوکیل او ملاحظه وصرافی ودر میان کیسه
کرده سر انرا مهر وتحویل صاحب جمع است که بهر
مصرفی که مقرر فرمایند داده میشود وانچه
از زرهای قلابی وزبون باشد جدا کرده تسلیم
صاحب زر مینمایند باب حمام وان مشتمل است
بر دو مقصد مقصد اول در بیان تفصیل شغل
وزیر بیوتات ومستوفی ارباب التحاویل ومشرفان
بیوتات معمور وان مشتمل است بر سه فصل
فصل اول در بیان تفصیل شغل عالیحضرت
وزیر بیوتات خدمت مشار الیه انست که انچه
اخراجات درکار خانجات سرکار خاصه شریفه
واقع شود اسناد وروزنامجات انها را بقدغن
ناظر بیوتات نواب مشار الیه دو روز و
هفته بهفته وماه بماه بوزیر بیوتات برسانند

که وزیر مذکور با یکنفر نویسندهٔ کار از سرکار خاصه
مواجب دارد مقابله و موازنه و خواطر جمع نموده
خط کذا شته بمهر ناظر دهد که تا خیر در نشود
روز نامجات و اسناد واقع نشود که نقصان بسرکار
خاصهٔ شریفه برسد و در اعیاد و روزها
مجلس انچه از طعام و افشره و ترشی و غیره صرف
شود و ناظر تصدیق کرده باشد که فلان قدر
حاضر ساز ند و وزیر بیوتات ملاحظه و شماره و
سیاهه برداشته ضبط نماید که در روزی که
سند میرسد زیاده از انچه اورده اند بخرج نشود
باشند و هر کونه داد و ستدی که در بیوتات

واقع میشود مادام که ان کاغذ بخط وزیر بیوتات
نرسیده باشد ناظر مهر نکند و سان عمله و عرض
شران و قیمت افشه انفادی را ناظر بدون
حضور وزیر بیوتات نه بندد و اجناس و افشره
و غیره که بجههٔ بیوتات در اصفهان خریده شود
ناظر بحضور وزیر بیوتات و اهل خبرت باید
قیمت مشخص نماید و هر کاه ناظر دیکری را در
خدمت وزیر بیوتات شریک و سهیم نماید البته
خیانت و تقلب و تصرف داشته خواهد
بود و مواجب عمله بیوتات جمعی که در سان حاضر
باشند از قرار نوامبر که بخط وزیر بیوتات و مهر

ناظر و رقم اعتماد الدولة رسیده باشد داده می
شود و جمعی که بخدمت و رخصت رفته باشند
بعد از حضور از قرار کیفیات که بدستور بجویزو
رقم و خط مشار الیهم رسد مواجب گیرند فصل
دویم در بیان تفصیل شغل مستوفی ارباب
التحاویل شغلش انست که انچه بهر جهة از جهات
از نقد و طلا الات و مرصع الات و نقره الات
و سمور و اقمشه و ملبوس و شتر و دواب واجناس
که بتحویل صاحب جمعان شود سرشته منقحی دران
باب درست دارد که مال دیوان از میان نرود
و ماه بماه روزنامجات را از مشرفان گرفته

بطرح صاحب جمعان نوشته باقی و فاضل هر
یک را موافق قانون حساب مشخص نماید بدون
مهر ناظر چیزی بخرج احدی ننویسند فصل سیم
در بیان شغل مشرفان بیوتات معمور شغل مشرفان
انست که روزنامجات و اسناد کارخانجات
متعلقه بخود را روز بروز بنویسند و پس نیندازند
که هرگاه روزنامجات پس افتد نقصان کلی بکار
خاصه شریفه میرسد و چنانچه صاحب جمعان
و محصلان اخراجات و اسناد را بایشان رسانند
باید بناظر بیوتات بگویند و عالیجاه ناظر کس
بفرستد و اسناد را بایشان برسانند و مشرفان

بدون سند یکدینار و یکمن بار بزبانی داخل روز
نامجات ننمایند و هرگاه اسناد را غیر صاحبان کار
خط و مهر گذاشته باشند برگردانند و مادام
که صاحب جمعان باقی نقدی و جنسی پیش داشته
باشند آن مبلغ و مقدار را داخل بر آورد سال
آینده ننمایند مقصد ثانی در بیان تفصیل شغل
وزرا و مستوفیان جمع و خرج دفترخانه همیون
اعلی و داروغه و عذب باشی و غیره و آن مشتملست
بر بیست فصل فصل اول در بیان شغل مقرب
الحضرت العلیة العالیه ناظر دفترخانه همیون
اعلی شغل مشار الیه آنست که ارقام ملازمت

و مدد معاش

و مدد معاش و معافیها و سیورغالات و وظایف
و احکام همه ساله و تیول و تنخواه کل عساکر و ارقام
مناصب ارباب منصب و افراد محاسبات عمال
کل ممالک محروسه که از هر دفترخانه میگذرد
بعد از تصحیح بمهر او میرسد و مفروغ نمودن محاسبات
کل عمال ممالک محروسه از وزرا و متصدیان
و مستاجران و ضابطان و مباشران مالیات
دیوانی شغل مختص مقرب الحضرت مشار الیه است
و نه نفر محرر ملازم دیوان داشته که هشت
نفر از آنجمله ارقام و احکام همه سالجات و تنخواه
و تصدیقات و همه ساله و غیره که از سرکارات

میکذرد ایشان نیز ثبت وخط میکذارند ویک
نفر دیکر در حین کذشتن محاسبات وارقام واحکام و
تصدیقات بعد از تصحیح خط وشد میکشد
فصل دویم در بیان تفصیل شغل داروغه دفتر
خانه شغل مشار الیه انست که نسق کل دفتر
خانه وتنبیه عزبان وسایر عمله دفتر با اوست
وطلب ودعوائی که فیما بین عمله دفتر بوده باشد
در حضور مشار الیه باید قطع شود وضمن تمامی
احکام وارقام مناصب وتنخواه وتیول وهمه ساله
وارقام ملازمت کل عساکر منصوره و
وصل ارقام واحکام را مهر مینمود وکل عمال

دیوانی از وزرا ومستاجران وضابطان ومتصدیان
ومباشران مالیات دیوانی را بپای حساب می اورد
که مقرب الحضرة ناظر دفترخانه تفریغ وتصحیح محاسبه
ایشان نماید فصل سیم در بیان تفصیل شغل
وزیر سرکار قورچی شغل مشار الیه انست که کیفیات
وتصدیقات حضور وخدمت اسفار ونسخجات
وسپه سالاران وسرداران که در باب ملازمان
قدیمی نوشته میشد وبعد ان رقم عالیجاه وزیر
دیوان اعلی وتجویز عالیجاه قورچی باشی در سرکار
مزبور خط میکذاشته اند که در سرکار مزبور
بدون مانعی معمول دارند وسایر کیفیات سرکار

مزبور را از قورچیان و یوزباشیان و یساولان
قور و غیرهم را نیز وزرا قورچی خط گذاشته و طوامیر
و تصدیقات و نسخجات ملازمت یوزباشیان و
یساولان قور و قورچیان جدیدی نزد وزرا مذکوره
ضبط و ارقام ملازمت و اضافه تیول و مواجب
انجماعت را قلمی و عنوان مینوشته اند و ضمن احکام
و ارقام مواجب و تیول و همه ساله و انعام و
تنخواه براتی و کیفیات را مهر مینماید و در روز
سان قورچیان وزیر مزبور باتفاق مستوفیان
سرکار در مجلس بهشت آیین در خدمت پادشاهان
نسخجات سان و قدر تیول و مواجب و همه ساله

براق و قورچیان

و نفری جماعت مزبوره را میخواند فصل چهارم
در بیان تفصیل شغل مستوفی سرکار قورچیان
که چهار نفر محرر ملازم دیوان دارد و شغل
مشار الیه آنست که سررشته بر نفری و تاریخ
صدور ارقام ملازمت و قدر مواجب و انعام
و تیول و همه ساله و طلب و غیبت کشیک درست
میداشته و اسناد دفتری و تصدیقات حضور
و غیبت و نسخجات اخراج و مستوفی نزد مستوفی
مشار الیه و نویسندهای سرکار مزبور ضبط
و از انقرار بقلم کتاب سرکار جمع میداده اند
که رسد مواجب اخراجین و ایام غیبت و تفاوت

ورود سفر را با همه ساله و پتولی که در وجه جماعت
متوفی مقرر بوده بجهة دیوان ضبط نماید و
بخرج رکیفیات طلب و تنخواه و پتول و همه ساله و
وثبت احکام وارقام پتول و مواجب همه ساله
و برانی جماعت فوج چیان وارقام ملازمت
ایشان با محرران سرکار مزبور و بعد از ثبت
بخط و مهر مستوفی سرکار مشار الیه میرسید
فصل پنجم در بیان شغل وزیر سرکار غلامان
شغل مشار الیه انست که کیفیات و بضد بقات
حضور و خدمت اسفار و تنخاه سپه سالاران
و سرداران که در باب ملازمان قدیمی نوشته

میشده بعد از رقم عالیجاه وزیر دیوان اعلی و
بخویز عالیجاه فوللر افاسی در سرکار مزبور خط میکشد
اند که در سرکار مزبور بدون ما بغی معمول دارند
وسایر کیفیات طلب و همه ساله و پتول و مواجب
پوزباشیان غلام و لیاولان فوج و غلامان
و جارچیان جزایری اند و غیرهم را نیز وزراء غلامان
مهر مینموده و طوامیر و بضد بقات و تنخاه
ملازمت پوزباشیان و لیاولان فوج و غیره
غلامان جدیدی نزد وزراء مذکور ضبط
وارقام ملازمت و اضافه پتول و مواجبان
جماعت را قلمی و عنوانی مینوشته اند و کیفیات

مواجب و یتول و همه ساله و انعام و تنخواه برائی
وضمن ارقام و احکام ملازمت و یتول و همه
ساله و طلب جماعت مذکوره را مهر مینموده
و در روز سان غلامان وزیر مزبور باتفاق
مستوفی ان سرکار در مجلس بهشت ائین در خدمت
پادشاهان نسخجات سان و قدر یتول و مواجب
و همه ساله و نفری جماعت مزبوره را میخواند
فصل ششم در بیان تفصیل شغل مستوفی
سرکار غلامان که پنجنفر محرر ملازم دیوان داشت
و شغل مشار الیه که سررشته نفری و تاریخ
صدور ارقام ملازمت و قدر مواجب و

انعام

انعام و یتول و همه ساله و طلب و غیبت و حضور
کشیک درست میداشته و استاد دفتری
و تصدیقات حضور و غیبت و نسخجات اخراج
و متوفی نزد مستوفی ان سرکار و محرران سرکار
مزبور ضبط میشده و از انقرار بقلم کتاب
سرکار جمع میداده اند که رسد مواجب اخراجین
و ایام غیبت و تفاوت ورود سفر را بجهة
دیوان ضبط نمایند و تحریر کیفیات طلب
و تنخواه و یتول و همه ساله و ثبت احکام و ارقام
و کیفیات یتول و مواجب جماعت مزبوره با محرران
سرکار مزبور و بعد از ثبت و تحریر بخط و مهر

مستوفی میرسد فصل هفتم در بیان تفصیل
شغل وزیر تفنکچیان شغل مشار الیه انست
که کیفیات و تصدیقات حضور خدمت
اسفار و نسخجات سپه سالاران و سردارن که
در باب ملازمان قدیمی نوشته میشده بعد از
رقم عالیجاه وزیر دیوان اعلی و تجویز عالیجاه
تفنکچی اقاسی وزیر سرکار مزبور خط میگذاشته
که در سرکار مزبور بدون مانعی معمول دارند
و سایر کیفیات سرکار مزبور را تفنکچیان و
و یوزباشیان و مین باشیان و جارچیان و
غیرهم را نیز وزراء سرکار مزبور خط گذاشته

و توامیر و تصدیقات و نسخجات ملازمت مین
باشیان و یوزباشیان مذکوره ضبط و ارقام
ملازمت و اضافه تیول و مواجب انجماعت را
قلمی و عنوان مینوشته اند و ضمن ارقام و احکام
ملازمت و مواجب و کیفیات مواجب و تیول
و همه ساله و انعام و تنخواه براتی را مهر مینمایند
و در روز سان تفنکچیان وزیر مزبور باتفاق
مستوفی انسرکار در مجلس بهشت ایین در خدمت
پادشاهان نسخجات سان و قدر تیول و مواجب
و همه ساله و نفری جماعت مذکوره را میخواند
فصل هشتم در بیان تفصیل شغل مستوفی

و جارچیان

سرکار مزبور که چهار نفر محرر ملازم دیوان داد
وشغل مشارالیه انست که سررشته بر نفری
وتاریخ صدور ارقام ملازمت وقدر مواجب
وانعام وبتول وهمه ساله وطلب وهمیشه ه
کشیک درست میداشته واسناد دفتری
ونصدیقات حضور وغیبت ونسخجات اخراج
ومتوفی نزد مستوفی مومی الیه ومحرران سرکار
مزبور ضبط میشده وازانفرار بقلم سرکار
جمع میداده اند که رسد مواجب اخراجین وایام
غیبت وتفاوت ورود سفر را بجهة دیوان
ضبط نمایند ومحرر کیفیات طلب ونخواه وبتول

وهمه ساله وثبت احکام وارقام وکیفیات ومواجب
وهمه ساله وبراتی وغیره جماعت مزبور با محرران
سرکار مزبور وبعد از ثبت وتحریر بخط مهر مستوفی
مشارالیه میرسید واستیفای سرکار مزبور
همیشه با مستوفی سرکار غلامان بوده وچهار
نفر محرر در هر دو سرکار ملازمند فصل ششم
در بیان تفصیل شغل وزیر توپخانه مبارکه شغل
مشارالیه انست که کیفیات ونصدیقات
حضور وخدمت اسفار ونسخجات سپه سالاران
وسرداران که در باب ملازمان قدیمی نوشته
میشده بعد از رفتم عالیجاه وزیر دیوان اعلی

وبتجویز عالیجاه توپچی باشی وزیر سرکار مزبور خط
میگذاشته که در سرکار مزبور بدون مانعی معمول
دارند وسایر کیفیات سرکار مزبور از توپچیان
ومین باشیان ویوزباشیان وجارچیان توپخانه
وغیرهم را نیز وزراء مزبور خط گذاشته وطوامیر
وتصدیقات ونسخجات ملازمت مین باشیان
ویوزباشیان وجارچیان وغیره تفنگچیان جدیدی
نزد وزراء مذکوره ضبط وارقام ملازمت و
اضافه تیول ومواجب انجماعت را قلمی وعنوان
مینوشته اند وضمن ارقام واحکام ملازمت
ومواجب وتیول وکیفیات مواجب وتیول و

وهمه ساله وانعام وتنخواه براتی را مهر مینمایند
ودر روز سان توپچیان وزیر مزبور باتفاق مستوفی
ان سرکار در مجلس بهشت ایین در خدمت نواب
اشرف نسخجات سان وقدر تیول ومواجب وهمه
ساله ونفری جماعت مزبوره را میخواند فصل
دهم در بیان تفصیل شغل مستوفی سرکار
مزبور که سه چهار نفر محرر ملازم دیوان داشته
وشغل مشار الیه انست که سررشته بر نفری
وتاریخ صدور ارقام ملازمت وقدر مواجب
وانعام وتیول وهمه ساله وطلب همیشه کشیک
درست میداشته واسناد دفتری وتصدیقات

حضور و غیبت و نسخجات اخراج و متوفی نزد مستوفی
مومی الیه و محرران سرکار جمع میداده اند که رسد
مواجب اخراجین و ایام غیبت و تفاوت ورود
سفر را بجهة دیوان ضبط نمایند و تحریر کیفیات
طلب و تنخواه و تیول و همه ساله و ثبت احکام
و ارقام و کیفیات تیول و مواجب و همه ساله
و براتی و غیره جماعت مزبوره با محرران سرکار
مزبور و بعد از ثبت و تحریر بخط و مهر مستوفی
مشار الیه میرسید فصل یازدهم در بیان
تفصیل شغل لشکرنویس دیوان اعلی که وزیر
سرکار اقایان و قوشچیان و یساولان و قاپوچیان

سرکار مزبور ضبط میشده و از انقرار بقلم

دیوان حرم و غیرهم و کیفیات تیول و همه ساله
و انعام مشار الیهم و ارقام و احکام مواجب
براتی و همه ساله کل امرا عظام و بیگلربیگیان
و حکام کرام و سلاطین خوانین ذوی الاحترام
درگاه معلی و سرحد و ارقام مناصب جماعت
مزبوره و کل عمال و مستوفیان عظام و اصحاب
و ریش سفیدان جزو کل و محرران دفترخانه و
وزراء و مستوفیان سرحدات و اطبا و منجمین
و ناظران و کلانتران و ارقام و احکام طلب و
تنخواه امرا و مقربان درگاه و اقایان و قوشچیان
و یساولان و قاپوچیان دیوان و حرم و صاحب

جمعان و مشرفان و عمله بیوتات معموره که غیر غلام
باشند و ارقام و احکام سیورغالات و معافیات
و اجارات و وظایف و طوامیر یساقیان و چریک
بمهر او میرسید و تحریر ارقام ملازمت جماعت
مزبوره را مشار الیه قلمی مینماید و در حین حرکت
سپه سالاران و سرداران نایبی از جانب مشار
الیه باتفاق ایشان روانه و سررشته بر حضور
و غیبت و چهره نویسی و قدر مواجب ایشان
درست داشته انفاذ درگاه معلی مینماید
و سررشته نفری امرا و حکام و سلاطین سرحد
با مشار الیه است و در روزهای سان جماعتی

که داد و ستد ایشان با سرکار سرخط است باتفاق
سرخط نویس نسخه جات سان را میخوانده و مینوشته اند

فصل دوازدهم در بیان تفصیل شغل سرخط
نویس دیوان اعلی که بغیر از تحریر ارقام ملازمت
قاطبه ملازمان و مهر کیفیات و ارقام و احکام
جماعت مفصله معروضه مختص لشکر نویس است
و فرستادن نایب باتفاق سپه سالاران و
سرداران دیگر در همه امور با لشکر نویس دیوان اعلی
شریک و مستوفی سرکار آقایان و غیرهم و همه
احکام و ارقام ارباب مناصب و عمال و کیفیات
طلب و تنخواه جماعت معروضه و ضبط سررشته

نفری وقد دیوان و مواجب وهمه ساله و براتی
ایشانست و بعد از تحریر کیفیات و تثبت کیفیات
و ارقام و احکام مناصب و تیولات وهمه سالجاد
وغیرهم جماعت مزبور بخط سرخط نویس میرسند
فصل سیزدهم در بیان تفصیل شغل ضابطه
نویس شغل مشار الیه انست که محصولات و
مستقلات دیوانی تمام ممالک محروسه و
وجوه واهدادی و تنبا کو فروشی و تقبلات
وجهات عملکردی ممالک وجوپان بیکی و التزامات
منافع احضاد و سرانه هنود و سوق الدواب و
رسومات ارباب مناصب دیوان اعلی سوای انچه

از وجوهات مذکور در سرکار خاصه و اوارجه
جمع است شمه دیگر تماما در سرکار ضابطه نویس
داد و سند میشود و خدمت مذکور میرزا ابو
الحسن مرجوع است و سرکار مزبور پانزده نفر
نویسنده داشته که چهار نفر انها با لفعل در جبا
و پانزده نفر دیگر در ایام محاصره و بعد از ان متوفی
شده اند و از اکثری انها کسی باقی نمانده فصل
چهاردهم در بیان تفصیل شغل عالیحضرت صاحبقران
توجیه دیوان اعلی شغل او اینست که کل
ارباب قلم سرکارات خارج هنم قلم و هر قسم داد
وستدی که در دفتر خانه شود باید که بخط

ومهرمشار الیه برسد ودوازده نفر محرر داشته
که هریک از انها صنفی از عساکر وغیره را سررشته
داشته وکل ارقام واحکام وپروانجات مناصب
دیوان اعلی وملازمت وبتول ومواجب وهمه
ساله ومعافی وسیورغال ووظایف وامثال
انها اعم از انکه از دیوان یا خاصه یا ارباب
التجاویل وغیره بوده باشد باید بثبت سرکار
مزبور برسد وکل محاسبات ممالک محروسه
سوی صاحبجمعان بیوتات معمور ونخویلداران
عمارات که دز سرکار ارباب التجاویل نوشته میشود
بتصدیق سرکار مزبور میرسد ونسخه محاسبات

کل موذیان ونخویلداران سرکار خاصه که بموجب
ارقام واحکام داد وستد شده باشد باید
بتصدیق سرکار مزبور برسد وهم چنین کل
کیفیات دفتری باید بتصدیق توجیه دیوان
اعلی برسد وبرخی از سرکار مزبور نوشته شود
وبتصدیقات همه ساله وغیره باید بالتمام
به ثبت وخط صاحب توجیه ومحرران سرکار
مزبور برسد سررشته دستور دستورات
مناصب دیوان اعلی ودستور العمل اخذ چوپان
بیکی وسایر وجوهات سایر الوجوه متعلق بسرکار
مزبور ودستور العمل نواب کبتی ستان در سرکار

ضبط بود که حقیقی که در عصری ضرور شود
از سرکار مزبور نوشته شود که بخلاف انعمل اید
و زیادتی بر احدی واقع نشود و قدر نفری
قشون و مداخل حکام ممالک محروسه از سرکار
مزبور ظاهر میشود و اکثر محررین سرکار مزبور موجود
نیستند فصل پانزدهم در بیان تفصیل شغل
دفتردار دفترخانه همیون اعلی شغل مشار الیه
انست که ارقام و احکام وزرا و مستوفیان
و سیورغالات و معافی و تنخواه مواجب یساولان
صحبت و ایشیک اقاسیان و اقایان بخط او
میرسید و دفاتر سنوات سابقه که همیشه

رجوعی با انها نبوده بعضی اوقات رجوع میشده
و در انبار دفترخانه مضبوط بود تحویل دفتردار
و ضبط دفاتر مزبور با او بوده است فصل شانزدهم
در بیان تفصیل شغل غرب باشی ریش سفید
غربان و فراشان دفتر است و دفاتر که در خارج
انبار است بتحویل او و اگر دفاتر مفقود گردد
باز خواست ان از مشار الیه میشده و بدستور
دفتر از ارقام و احکام بخط او میرسید فصل
هفدهم در بیان تفصیل شغل ضابط دوشلک
وکیل شغل مشار الیه انست که ارقام مواجب
و غیره که از دفترخانه همیون میگذرد دوشلک

ایرل

وکیل را کہ بدیوان اعلی متعلق است انچہ را موافق
دستور و معمول نقد باز یافت مینمایند نقد
داخل سررشتہ خود و انچہ نقد مہمسازی
نکنند از خشو طلب ایشان وضع و در اخر سال
قدر انرا مشخص و از دفتر تنخواہ باز یافت و ابواب
جمع خود و بهر مصرف کہ مقرر شود مہمسازی مینمایند
و در ضمن ارقام بخط خود مینگارد کہ دوشلک
باز یافت شد فصل پنجم در بیان شغل
اوارجہ نویسان شغل ایشان است کہ در کیفیات
حقایق دفتری اسم نوشتن و در محاسبات
مستاجران و ضابطان و متصدیان و سایر مباشرین

مالیات دیوانی در اسناد خرج ایشان نسخ و در
افراد بطالعہ مینویسند و پروانجات ہمہ ساله
و بتول و غیره را بعد از انکہ کیفیات انہا
برقم وزیر دیوان اعلی و مستوفی الممالک اسناد
را ضبط و عنوان مینویسند و بدستور ایضا
ارقام و پروانجات امرا و وزراء سرحدات و ولایات
کہ مالیات بضبط ایشان مقرر گردیده باشد و
حکام و کلانتر و مستوفیان و لشکر نویسان و ملکان
و رئیس شغیدان ایلات و اویماقات و غیره محال
متعلقہ بایشان کہ بمسودہ دفتری صادر میشود
باشد اعم از اینکہ امراء در رب دولتخانہ مبارکہ

وسرحد وغیره اعاظم باشد در مسودها قلمی و در
ارقام و پروانجات انجماعت ملاحظه شد و بعد ازان
ثبت نمایند اسناد را ضبط و ارقام و پروانجات را
قلمی و در ثبتها خط میکذارند کرسند دفتریان
کردد و بهمین دستور اکر اقطاع و سیورغال و
مسلمیات و معافیات و مدد معاش و پروانجات
حسابی کرصادر کردد عمل مینمایند باب پنجم
در ذکر شغل مختص هریك از عمال دار السلطنه
اصفهان و ان مشتمل است بر چهارده فصل فصل اول
در بیان شغل وزیر سرکار فیض اثار شغل مشار
الیه لشق افلاك وزارت و ابادی باغات

ومستغلات وطواحین وقنوات است و بابد بهر
واطلاع وجه ریع محال ومستغلات وغیره حاصل
موقوفات سرکار مزبور از رعایا و مستاجران
باز یافت شود و بمصارف مقرره واصل ساخته
حسن سعی خود را در ابادی محال و تکثیر زراعات
حاصل سازد در بیان تفصیل
شغل مستوفی موقوفات ممالك محروسه شغل
مشار الیه انست کروزرا و مستوفیان و منتظمان
و متولیان و مباشرین موقوفات خاصه و ممالك
همکی محاسبه خود را بدفتر موقوفات رساینده
بمستوفی مزبور محاسبات را خط کذاشته اسناد

خرج را نسخه کشیده مفاصا حساب و طوامیر نسق
بهر یک داده که از انقرار داد و ستد نمایند و
ارقام و امثلهٔ دفتری که صادر میشده بمسوده
دفتر موقوفات محرران ارقام و مثال نویسان مثال
مینوشته اند و ارقام را بعد از مهر داروغه
دفترخانه مهر مینموده و در ضمن خط میگذاشته

فصل سیم در بیان تفصیل شغل وزیر دار
السلطنهٔ اصفهان شغل مشار الیه انست که نسق
محال خالصه و ضبط بعضی از وجوهات و دکاکین
بعهدهٔ اهتمام مشار الیه است که محلی از محال
بی نسق و نامزروع نماند و انچه بجهة نسق زراعات

ضرور داند بعنوان بزر و مساعده بمستاجر و رعیت
داده در رفع محصول باز یافت نماید و از برای
مستغلات سرکار خاصهٔ شریفه ضابط و مستاجر
بهم رسانیده زراعت نماید و در ضبط مالیات
دیوانی نهایت اهتمام بعمل اورد و وجوهات اصفهان
که داد و ستد ان با مستوفی اصفهانست اسناد
تحویل صاحبجمعان بیوتات و همه ساله در ان و
سایر اسناد را وزیر مشار الیه رقم نموده مستوفی
اسناد را ضبط و بموجب برواة مهر وزیر و
کلانتر و مستوفی حواله و باز یافت میشود
و در رفع محصولات که بعلت افت ارضی یا سمائی

نگذارد که نقصانی بسرکار خاصه
برسد و هر محلی که رعیت
نداشته باشد رعیت
بهم رسانیده

یا اینکه بازدیدی باشد بعد از عرض بخدمت
اقدس یا وزیر دیوان اعلی مقرر میگردد که وزرا و
عمال باتفاق رباع و مساح و محرران صاحب وقوف
بمحال مزبوره رفته بازدید و قرار ربع داده بعد
از وضع اکره معمول که رسد رعیت است
تتمه بجهة دیوان ضبط و تحویل رعایا در محال
منبر و تحویلدار تعیین و تنخواه ارباب حوالات
دیوان میشود و جمع نمودن رعایا و توفیر و
تکثیر زراعات و تعمیر عمارات و قنوات و دکاکین
و خانات و خالصه و محافظت رعایا که از
احدی بر ایشان جبر و تعدی واقع نشود و

تعیین روسا باطلاع کلانتر متعلق بوزیر است
و وزیر اصفهان تنخواه بازیافت نموده بمصارف
ضروریه دیوان صرف و در آخر سال اسناد حسابی
در دست داشته و برقم دیوان وزیر اعلی
رسانیده مستوفی از انقرار محاسبات او را
تشخیص و تنقیح داده باقی و فاضل او را مشخص
و نسخه عملکرد او را بعد از رقم عالیجاه وزیر دیوان
اعلی بعالیجاه مستوفی خاصه رسانیده هرگونه
بازیافت و دقت حسابی که داشته باشد
مشار الیه بعمل می آورد و چند نفر از ملازمان
دیوانی بتابینی وزیر مقرر میبودند که بتقدیم

خدمات دیوانی قیام مینموده اند و نسخه بازدید
محال ما دام که برقم وزیر دیوان اعلی نرسیده باشد
مناط اعتبار نبوده در دفاتر عمل نمیشود و در
حین بازدید محال معتمدی از دیوان اعلی بتعیین
میشود که در حضور او عمل و سایر مامورین بازدید
نمایند فصل چهارم در بیان تفصیل شغل
وزیر سرکار انتقالی شغل مشار الیه است
که نسق املاک و زراعات و ابادی باغات و
مستغلات و طواحین و قنوات نموده وجه ربع
هر محل بمهر و اطلاع مشار الیه از زراعیا و مستاجران
باز یافت میشود و محلی که بی نسق و نامزوع باشد

ایچه یجهه نسق زراعات ضرور ندارد مالیات
سرکار بعنوان بذر و مساعده و مونث زراعت
برعیت داده در رفع محصول وجه مساعده و
مونث را باز یافت نماید و بجهه مستغلات
ضابط و مستاجر بهمرسانیده نگذارد که نقصانی
بسرکار خاصه شریفه رسد و محلی که رعیت
نداشته باشد رعیت بهمرسانیده و زراعت
نماید و در رفع محصول محالی که بعلت افت
ارضی و سماوی یا اینکه باز دیدی باشد بعد از
عرض بخدمت اقدس یا وزیر دیوان اعلی مقرر
میگردد که احدی از نوابین تعیین و با تفاق

وزرا و عمال و رباع و مساح و محرران صاحب
وقوف بمحال رفته موافق معمول بازدید و قرار
داده بعد از وضع اکره رعیت تتمه بجهة دیوان
ضبط میشود و سعی در توفیر و تکثیر زراعات و تعمیر
عمارات و قنوات و دکاکین و خانات خالصه
و وقفی و محافظت مودیان که احدی جبر و تعدی
بر ایشان نکند و تعیین روسا مختار است که
هر قدر بجهة امور مزبوره ضرور در کار داند بصیغه
تحویل خود از مستوفی سرکار باز یافت و بمصارف
ضروریه دیوانی صرف و در آخر سال اسناد
حسابی درست داشته برقم وزیر دیوان اعلی

رسانیده

رسانیده مستوفی سرکار از انقرار در محاسبات
عمل نماید و نسخه عملکرد او را بعد از رقم عالیجاه
وزیر دیوان اعلی بعالیجاه مستوفی خاصه رسانیده
هر گونه باز یافتی و دقتی که داشته باشد مشار
الیه بعمل می آورد فصل پنجم در بیان تفصیل
شغل عالیحضرت مستوفی سرکار مزبور حواله و
اطلاق محصولات و مستغلات و تنقیح و تشخیص
محاسبات رعایا و مودیان و جوهات دیوانی
و وقفی ضبطی وزیر مزبور مختص مشار الیه و
نویسنده بقدر احتیاج نگاه میدارد که جزو
او بند و بدون اطلاع مشار الیه داد و ستد

متوجهات نمیشود محاسبه کل رعایا و مودیان
بعد از تشخیص تعبر فوس هر سال کرعال و مامورین
موافق دستور معمول مشخص نموده باشند در دفتر
مفروغ و مفاصا حساب بمهر مستوفی بمودیان
داده میشود و هر ساله نسخه برجمع و خرج متوجهات
سرکار مزبور را ز قرار اسناد چنانچه کر برقم وزیر
دیوان اعلی رسیده باشد نوشته بسرکار خاصه
رسانیده اگر سخن حسابی و دقت دفتری داشته
باشد مستوفی خاصه بعمل می آورد فصل ششم
در بیان تفصیل شغل عالیحضرت کلانتر تعیین
کدخدایان محلات و رئیس سفیدان اصناف

بامشارالیه است باین نحو که سکنه هر محله و هر
صنف و هر قریه هر کرا امین و معتمد دانند
فیمابین خود تعیین و رضا نامچه باسم او نوشته
و مواجبی در وجه او تعیین نموده و بمهر نقیب
معتبر نموده بحضور کلانتر آورده تعلیقه و
خلعت از مشارالیه بجهة او باز یافت مینماید
بعد از ان متوجه رتق و فتق مهمات انها میگردد
و در سه ماه اول هر ماه هر سال کلانتر و نقیب
کل تعیین و همکی اصناف را جمع نموده نزد نقیب
دارالسلطنه اصفهان می برند و پنجه هر کس
مشخص و نقیب مهر نموده بسر رشته کلانتر

میرسانند بعد ازان بموجب بروات مهر و زیر و
کلانتر و مستوفی متوجهات دیوانی هر یک از
دفتر حواله و محصص کلانتر موافق تنبیه فیما بین هر
صنف توجیه و محصلان دیوانی از انفراد یا ازدیاد
مینمایند و چند نفر از ملازمان دیوانی بتا بینی
کلانتر مقرر بوده اند که خدمات دیوانی را بتقدیم
رسانند و تمیز و تشخیص کفشکوئی که اضافات
در باب قدر تنبیه و سایر امور متعلق بکسب و
کار خود با یکدیگر داشته باشند با کلانتر است
که هر نحو که مقرون بحق و حساب و معمول مملکت
باشد از انفراد یعمل آورند و از هر کس که بر رعیت

جبری و تعدی واقع شود بعد از انکه بکلانتر
شکوه نمایند بر ذمه اوست که از جانب رعیت
مدعی شده اگر خود نواند دفع نمود فبها والا
بوکلاء دیوانیان عرض نموده نگذارد که از افتا
بر ضعفا جبر و تعدی واقع شده موجب بد دعا
گردد و همیشه باید در مقام اصلاح حال
رعایا بوده دعای خیر بجهه ذات اقدس وجود
مقدس حاصل نماید فصل هفتم در بیان
تفصیل شغل داروغه اصفهان مشار الیه جزو
دیوان بیگی و شغل مشار الیه انست که اصلا
شهر و خارج شهر را محافظت نماید که هیچکس

مرتکب خلاف حساب و ظلم و نزاعی نگردد و امور
خلاف شرع و فاحشه و شراب و قمار و سایر
امور نامشروع را قدغن نماید که کسی متوجه آن نشود
و هرگاه متوجه آن گردد او را تنبیه و از آن
عمل منع و فراخور تقصیر جریمه از گناهکاران باز یافت
نماید و شبها بعد از آنکه سه ساعت بگذرد
اولا آمده ساعتی در درب قیصریه توقف و بعد
از آن با جمعی که بتابینی او مقرر اند سوار شده هر شب
یکسمت شهر را خود و سمت دیگر را احداس و
سایر توابین ایشان گردش و وقت نقاره بخانه
خود مراجعت نماید و معمول بود که از سرکار

قورچی و غلام و آقایان و تفنگچی و توپچی بتابینی
داروغه مشار الیه مقرر بوده اند که حسب الصلاح
او بخدمات قیام و جماعت مذکوره را بنحوی که
مناصب و ضرور داند بسرکردگی شخصی از ایشان
که او را سردسته مینامند در هر محله از محلات
شهر تعیین نماید که روز و شب در آن محله بوده
بمحافظت و محارست قیام نمایند که کسی مرتکب
ظلم و خلاف حساب و نامشروعی نگردد و آنچه در
آن محله بوقوع رسد چگونگی را بعرض داروغه رسانیده
که او تمیز و تشخیص و بازخواست نماید و هر شب
آن جماعت آن محله را گردش نمایند و چنین دستور

بوده که دعواهای کم تا پنجتومان الی دوازده تومان
را اعم از اینکه در اصل شهر یا دهات بوده داروغه
احضار و زیاده بر این را دیوان بیکی احضار مینمود
و ضابطهٔ کلیه فیما بین دیوان بیکی و داروغه آنست
که آنچه را داروغه تواند نمود دیوان بیکی دخل میتواند
کرد و بعد از آنکه بدیوان بیکی رسید دیگر داروغه را
دخلی بر آن نیست و احداس که باصطلاح او را
میرشب خوانند جزو داروغه و او نیز با جمعی که
با خود دارد شبها در محلات میگردد که دزدی
که در محلات واقع شود باید در روز بعرض داروغگان
رساند و در جائی که دزدی واقع شده باشد و

مالی که میرشب بدست می آورد بعد از برداشتن
دو دانگ مال که موافق معمول حق اوست تتمه
مال را که چهار دانگ بوده باشد باید باطلاع دیوان
بیکی و داروغه بصاحب مال رساند و اگر دزد را
بدست نیاورد مهلتی طلب نموده هرگاه بعد
از مهلت بدست نیاورده باشد از عهده
غرامت مال دزدی از عین المال خود بیرون
آید فصل هشتم در بیان تفصیل شغل عالیحضرت
محتسب الممالک بعد از آنکه صاحب نسق ماه
بماه التزام قیمت اجناس از ریش سفیدان هر صنف
گرفته خاطر خود را جمع نموده مهر بمحتسب

الممالک سپرده باشد مشارالیه نظر بهر فصل
هر محل ماه بماه اجناس را بمردم فروشند تا باعث

برطبق ان تصدیق کرده نزد عالیجاه ناظر
دفاه حال رعایا و ساکنین و متوطنین انجا کشته دعاء

ببوتات میفرستند که ناظر ملاحظه و اوبنن خاطر
خیر بجهة ذات اقدس حاصل شود فصل هفتم

جمع کرده مهر و بصاحبجمعان میدهد که موافق
در بیان تفصیل شغل عالیحضرت نقیب خدمت

ان مشرفان اسناد اجناس ابتیاع قلمی نمایند و
مشارالیه تشخیص بنیچه اصناف است که هر ساله

در باب تعبیرات اجناس که اصناف بمردم
در سه ماهه اول کس تعیین و که خدایان هر

شهر میفروشند اگر احدی از اهل حرفه از قرار
صنف را حاضر نموده برضای یکدیگر بر

داد او تخلف نماید او را اخته کلاه نماید تا
وفق قانون وحق وحساب ومعمول ودستور

موجب عبرت دیگران گردد و محتسب الممالک
مملکت بنیچه هر یک را مشخص وطومار ی نوشته

در ممالک محروسه همه جا نایب تعیین مینماید
مهر نموده ببرداشته کلا انرا سپارد که متوجهات

که از قرار تصدیق نایب مشارالیه اصناف
دیوانی هر صنف در انسال از انفرار تقسیم

وتوجیه شود دیگر هر صنف که استاد تعیین
مینمایند باید نزد نقیب اعتراف برضامندی
باستادی آن شخص نموده ومعتبر ساخته نزد کلانتر
آورده تعلیقه بآن یافت نمایند دیگر تعیین ریش
سفیدان درویشان واهل معارک وامثال اینها
با مشار الیه است فصل دهم در بیان تفصیل
شغل میراب دار السلطنه اصفهان تعیین مادی
سالاران وتنقیه انهار وجداول ورسانیدن
آب زاید رود بتمامی محال اصفهان که از آب
رودخانه شرب میشود موافق هر محل بمشار الیه
متعلق است واینکه رعایای محل در باب حقابه

بر دیگری زیادتی ننمایند ونگذارد که از اقویا بر
ضعفا در باب حقابه زیادتی شود وبعهده مشار
الیه است هرگونه گفتگوئی ودعوائی که بخصوص
حقابه ارباب ورعای هر محل با یکدیگر داشته
باشند تمیز وتشخیص آن با مشار الیه است بتصدیق
وتجویز وزیر وکلانتر ومستوفی در هر باب باید
معمول دارد فصل یازدهم در بیان تفصیل
شغل عالیحضرت مستوفی سرکار فیض آثار شغل
مشار الیه آنست که سررشته بر جمع وخرج
محال وباغات وطواحین ومستغلات وآنچه
متعلق بسرکار مزبور است نگاه داشته اسناد

جمع وخرج را که وزیر سرکار مزبور رقم نموده باشد
ضبط و شرطنامچه و برات قلمی نماید و محاسبات
رعایا و مستاجران وغیره مودیان مالیات سرکار
مزبور را تنقیح داده مفاصا بمهر خود تسلیم مینماید

فصل دوازدهم در بیان تفصیل شغل عالیحضرت
مستوفی اصفهان حواله و اطلاق وجوهات
و محصولات و تنقیح و تشخیص محاسبات رعایا
و مودیان وجوهات دیوانی ضبطی وزیر دار
السلطنه اصفهان مختص مشار الیه و چهار
نفر نویسنده میدارد که جزو اویند و بدون
مهر مشار الیه داد و ستد وجوهات و محصولات

نمیشود

نمیشود و محاسبه کل رعایا و مودیان بعد از تشخیص
تسعیر قوس هر سال که عمال و مامورین موافق
دستور و معمول مشخص نموده باشند در دفتر
مفروغ و مفاصا حساب بمهر مستوفی بمودیان
داده میشود و مستوفی و نوشتن طوامیر توجیه
مرد الاغ دار و بیل دار و نظایر آن که بر سر جمع
باید تقسیم شود آن نیز در دفتر اصفهان قلمی و
بمهر عمال میرسد و مستوفی مزبور هر ساله نسخه
بر جمع و خرج وجوهات و محصولات محال ضبطی
وزیر اصفهان از قرار اسناد حسابیه که برقم
وزیر دیوان اعلی رسیده باشد نوشته بسرکار

خاصه رسانیده اگر سخن حسابی و دقت دفتری
داشته باشد مستوفی خاصه بعمل آورد فصل
سیزدهم در بیان تفصیل شغل ریاع دار السلطنه
اصفهان شغل مشار الیه آنست که در هر سال
که محصولات محال اصفهان که بعضی بچهار یک
نسق و برخی بازدیدی و بعضی بعلت آفت ارضی
یا سماوی مقرر شده باشد که بازدید شود باتفاق
عمال و مامورین بازدید روانه محال میگردد
و علامت حاصل را در حضور عمال و مامورین
گرفته وزن میشود و عمال از انقرار بر آورد کل
حاصل و ابوابجمع رعایا و مودیان و بعد از آنکه

نسخه

نسخه بازدید برقم وزیر دیوان اعلی رسیده محکوم
به باشد که کتاب سرکار از انقرار در سر رشتجات
خود ابوابجمع مودیان و محاسبه مفروغ مینمایند
فصل چهاردهم در بیان تفصیل شغل متصدی
باغات شغل او اینست که پیوسته متوجه
آبادی باغات دیوانی بوده آنچه لازمه سعی
و اهتمامست بعمل آورده در هر فصلی از فصول
بغرس اشجار و گلکاری مشغول و اکثر اوقات
از گلهای الوان و میوه نوبر بجهة پادشاه سر
انجام و بنظر رساند و حسن خدمات خود را
ظاهر سازد و باغبانی که در خدمت خود

تقصیر نموده باشد تنبیه و اخراج و بخدمت
ناظر بیوتات عرض و عوض تعیین مینمایند و
مادام که متصدی تصدیق خدمات ننماید
مرسوم و جیره باغبان و خرکار باغات داده نمیشود
و در هر فصل کل تفتهای کل در هر مجلس حاضر
سازد خاتمه در ذکر مبلغ و مقدار مواجب و
رسوم ارباب مناصب درگاه معلی و مداخل
و قدر ملازم امرا سرحدات و ولایات ایران و
ان مشتملست بر سه مقاله مقاله اول در باب
تفصیل مواجب و رسوم هر یک از امرا عظام
و ارباب مناصب درگاه معلی وکیل دیوان اعلی

که

که در ایام تعطیل منصب وکالت ضابطی بجهت
ضبط دو شلک او تعیین و ده نیم دو شلک در
وجه ضابط مقرر گشته و مواجب در وجه وکیل
دیوان اعلی مقرر نبوده و رسومات او از قرار
تومانی بشرحی است که در تحت هر بابت نوشته میشود

باب از اخراجات یکصد و بیست و شش دینار و یک دانگ و نیم	باب از تنخواه امرا و مقربان و اقایان یکصد و نود و دو دینار
باب از تیول و غیره امرا از تیول سیصد و پنجاه و هفت دینار و از همه ساله دویست و سی و هشت دینار	باب از انعام امرا و جمعی که ملازم نباشد و سیورغالات و معافی و مواجب و مسلمیات و حق السعی عمال هفتصد و چهارده دینار

وزیر

دیوان اعلی که مواجبی ندارد و بشرح جزو
و رسم الوزراء و غیره و انعام و رسومات در وجه

او مقرر است

رسم

الوزارة وغیره که از محال معین بوده

رسم

الوزراء هشتصد و سه تومان
و سه هزار و کسری

انعام

همه ساله که بیست تومان نقد
و تتمه اجناس بوده یکنصف هفت تومان
و هفت هزار و کسری

رسومات

از قرار تومانی بشرح جزو

باب

از اجارات بصیغه حق القرار
پانصد دینار

باب

از تیول سیصد و سی دینار
و از همه ساله دویست و بیست
دینار

باب

از انعام امرا و جمعی که ملازم
نباشند و سیورغال و معافی
و مسلمیات و مواجب و حق
السعی عمال هفتصد و چهارده
دینار

صدور عظام

عشر و ده نیم کل سیورغالات و حق التولیه

وحق النظاره بعضی از محال وقفی در وجه ایشان
مقرر است میرزا ابوطالب در ایام صدارت
یکهزار و سیصد و شصت تومان بصیغه
مدد معاش و مقرری همه ساله داشته

قورچی باشی

و قوللر اقاسی و تفنکچی اقاسی و توپچی باشی وزرا
ایشان که هر یک از توابین خود بدینموجب دارند

ریش سفید

از انعام و قرار و مواجب و تیول
پانصد دینار و از تنخواه
همه ساله و یکساله یکصد دینار

وزیر

از انعام و قرار مواجب و
تیول یکصد دینار و از
تنخواه یکساله و همه
ساله ده دینار

و مواجب و تیول ایشان بنحویست که در تحت

اسم هر یک نوشته شده

قورچی باشی
که کاذران بیتول او بوده و یک
صد تومان حق التولیه نیز با
قورچی باشیان بوده و هزار و
شیصد و نود و یک تومان و هفت
هزار و دویست دینار و کسری

قوللر اقاسی
که الکاء کلپایکان
بلا مبلغ با ایشان بوده

تفنکچی اقاسی
که اکثر اوقات الکاء ابرقوه
با ایشان بوده هفتصد و یازده
تومان و پنجهزار و شیصد دینار
و کسری

توپچی باشی
که الکاء شفت با ایشان
بوده پانصد تومان

ایشیک اقاسی باشیان

دیوان

که حکومت ری با ایشان بوده و قشون مقرری
نیز داشته اند و رسوم نیز برین موجب دارند

نایب
از پیشکش که بدرگاه معلی
اورند ده یک باز یافت و فیما
بین مشار الیه و پیشکش
نویس قسمت میشود

نایب
از داغانه شتر از پنجاه نفر یک
نفر و از بره و بزغاله از پنجاه
راس یک راس

حرم

سیصد تومان مواجب داشته

امیراخور باشیان

جلو

یکصد و هشتاد و دو تومان و چهار هزار و کسری
مواجب و بشرح ذیل رسوم در وجه امیراخور باشی
و تحویلدار و عمله مقرر است و رسد هر یک مشخص
نیست

نایب
آنچه هر کس پیشکش نماید و از
آنچه بانعام داده شود یک باز
یافت و از جمله ده یک دو ده یک در وجه مشرف

نایب
از آنچه بمواجب دهند ده نیم باز
یافت و از جمله ده نیم و دو ده یک در
وجه مشرف و تتمه در وجه امیراخور
و عمله مقرر است

صحرا

مبلغ هشتاد تومان که براوردی ان مبلغ یک
صد و بیست و هفت تومان و پنجهزار و کسری
میشود مواجب دارد در نسخهٔ که بر رسومات
نوشته اند رسوم را در تحت امیراخور باشی مجملا
بلا قید جلو و صحرا تفصیل داده اند بقرینه ظاهر
میشود که انچه از اصطبل دهند متعلق بامیرا
خور باشی صحرا باشد و رسوم پیشکش و انعام
اصطبل را مشرف تصدیق نموده که بدینموجب
بازیافت میشود

نایب	نایب
از پیشکش از قرار راسی	از انعام از قرار راسی
سه هزار دینار	پنجهزار دینار

وانچه از پیشکش و انعام ضبط شود از یکتومان بدین
موجب قسمت میشود و اعراب و شرفاء مکه و سکان

سه هزار دینار	صاحب جمع سه هزار دینار
مشرف دو هزار دینار	جلوداران دو هزار دینار

مهتران
بلوکات خاصه و اینار یک
هزار دینار

عتبات عالیات و جماعت شاهی سیون و جمعی
که مهمانند اگر پیشکشی اورند دو شلک نمیدهند
انعامی نیز که بایشان داده شود دو شلک بازیافت نمیشود

دیوان

بیکی مبلغ پانصد تومان مواجب و پانزده تومان
تیول که براوردی ان مبلغ نود و دو تومان و سه هزار

هشتصد و چهل و پنج دینار میشود که مجموع
مواجب و تیول پانصد و نود و دو تومان و
سه هزار و هشتصد و چهل و پنج دینار بوده
باشد در وجه او مقرر بوده و در بعضی ازمنه
هزار تومان داشته و از جرایم ده یک رسوم دارد
امیر شکارباشی مبلغ هشتصد تومان مواجب
و تیول و غیره و بدین موجب رسوم داشته و از داروغگی

نا
در عوض صادان شیروان
مقرر شده یکصد تومان

نا
بصیغه رسوم امیر شکارباشی
دار المرز بصیغه انعام یکصد و پنجاه
تومان

نا
انعام همه ساله ارامنه جولاهی
پنجاه تومان و از مجوسیان اصفهان
بیست تومان

سلاخان و کله پزان و مرغ فروشان و کبوتر پران

و بهله دوزان و غیره بلا تشخیص مبلغ نیز رسوم
داشته ناظر بیوتات سیصد و شش تومان و
یکهزار و کسری مواجب و تیول و همه ساله و برین
موجب رسوم داشته

دفعه
که صاحب توجیه سابق نوشته

نا
از آنچه گرگیراقان بعمل می آورند از
یکتومان و دویست و بیست دینار
رسوم بازیافت میشود و از انجمله
یکصد دینار رسد ناظر است

نا
از ده نیم ابتیاع از یکتومان پانصد
دینار رسوم بازیافت میشود و
از انجمله پنجاه دینار رسد ناظر
است

دفعه
که مشرفان بیوتات تصدیق نموده اند که در جزو
معمولست

نا
از ده نیم ابتیاع قیمت اجناس
ده یک

نا
از مواجب و مرسوم عساکر که
نقد داده شود تومانی شیصد
شصت شش دینار و چهار دانگ

ناظر دواب مبلغ یکصد و پنجاه تومان مواجب و
از ابتیاع جل و براق طوایل با باشیخعلی ده نیم معمول
واز جمله ده نیم ده یک رسوم داشته ناظر دفتر خانه
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هشتصد و کسری رسوم و مواجب داشته

مهردار مهر همیون در هر سال بکونبت

همه ساله و بشرح جزو رسوم داشته

باب
از سر گوسفند که ذبح شود بیست دینار و از بره ده دینار

باب
از پوست بره ده دینار

باب
از ابتیاع مطبخ از صد دینار رسوم شصت دینار رسد اوست

دواتدار احکام مبلغ بیست و چهار تومان و دو هزار و کسری مواجب و تیول و بشرح جزو و رسوم داشته

باب
از اجارات از تومانی هجده دینار یکدانگ و نیم

باب
از تیول امرا و مقربان و آقایان بیست و پنج دینار

باب
از همه ساله امرا و غیره شانزده دینار و از براتی هشت دینار و دو دانگ

باب
از انعام امرا و جمعی که ملازم نیستند و سیورغال و حق السعی عمال پنجاه دینار

دواتدار ارقام مبلغ چهل و سه تومان و یکهزار و کسری مواجب و تیول و بدستور دواتدار احکام و رسوم داشته محتسب الممالک مبلغ پنجاه تومان مواجب و مبلغ دویست و پنجاه و سه

تومان و سه هزار و کسری بشرح جزو رسوم محلی داشته

قزوین شانزده تومان یکهزار یکصد دینار	همدان هفده تومان سیصد هفتاد دینار	کرمان سه تومان و هفت هزار دینار
مشهد مقدس دوازده تومان	اردبیل بیست و یک تومان یکهزار و دویست دینار	دار السلطنه تبریز شصت تومان
مازندران ده تومان	بلده عباس آباد گنجه و ایروان و ارومی دوازده تومان پنجهزار دینار	فارس پنج تومان و سه هزار و چهارصد و شصت سه دینار
بیانات چهار تومان	خوی پانزده هزار دینار	کرمرود هفت تومان
انکوت مبلغ یک تومان	سراب پنج تومان	مغانات چهار تومان
زنوز پنجهزار دینار	مرند پانزده هزار دینار	جماعت جوانشیر و اتوزا یکی

داروغه اصفهان رسوم بعنوان مختلف از سیصد تومان الی پانصد تومان میشد داروغه دفتر دفترخانه مبلغ پنجاه و هفت تومان و هشت

هزار و کسری در قدیم مواجب و یتول داشته و
در زمان شاه حسین یتول بسطام اقا که براوردی
ان قریب بدویست تومان میشده در وجه
او مقرر شده بود و مبلغ هفتاد و سه تومان
و هفت هزار و چهارصد و سی دینار رسوم
محلی و از قرار تومانی بشرح جزو نیز رسوم داشته

باب از اجارات پنجدینار و نیم
باب از تنخواه امرا دو دینار و نیم
باب از یتول امرا هفت دینار و نیم و همه ساله امرا پنجدینار
باب از انعام امرا و جمعی که ملازم نباشند و سیورغال و غیره پانزده دینار

داروغه فراشخانه مبلغ ده تومان و سه هزار و
هفتصد و شصت دینار یتول و نود و پنج تومان
و کسری از خیاطان و نقاشان و غیره اصناف

رسوم داشته که بازیافت مینموده مستوفی
الممالک بشرح جزو و رسم الاستیفاء و غیره
داشته

رسم الاستیفا و غیره

رسم الاستیفا از محال سیصد و دو تومان نه هزار و پنجاه و هشت دینار

رسم الحساب از محاسبات از قرار تومانی سی دینار

باب از یتول امرا و مقربان و اقایان چهل و پنجدینار

باب از همه ساله امرا و غیره مبلغ سی دینار

باب از تنخواه براتی امرا و مقربان و اقایان پانزده دینار

باب از انعام امرا و جمعی که ملازم نباشند و سیورغال و غیره و حق السعی عمل نود دینار

مجلس نویس مبلغ سیصد تومان مقرری و مدد
معاش داشته و از براوردی یتول و همه ساله
امرا و غیره از قرار تومانی دویست دینار رسوم
و مبلغ قیمت سی دسته کاغذ اکلی سر

فیما بین او و محرران چهار دانگ دو دانگ قسمت میشده بعد از آن رسم الحساب

از وجوهات محال ضبطی وزیر و مستوفی اصفهان
بانعام مقرر بوده مستوفی خاصه شریفه در
سنوات سابقه از قرار تومانی سی دینار رسم
الحساب داشته که فیما بین او و محرران چهار دانگ
دو دوانگ قسمت میشده بعد از آن رسم الحساب
داشته مشار الیه و محرران از قرار تومانی چهل
و پنج دینار مشخص شده و سایر رسومات از محال
خاصه بدستور مستوفی الممالک است و مبلغ
بیست و یک تومان و پنجهزار دینار نقد و دو
هزار و یکصد و بیست و نه من جنس بوزن
سابق رسوم محلی در وجه اوارجه نویس گیلانات

واصفهان مقرر بوده منشی الممالک مبلغ
یکصد و پنجاه و سه تومان و هفت هزار و کسری
مواجب و از بتول امرا و مقربان و اقایان از
قرار تومانی بیست و پنج دینار و از همه ساله
شانزده دینار و چهار دانگ و از انعامات امرا
و جمعی که ملازم نباشند و سیورغالات و
غیره پنجاه دینار و از تنخواه امرا و مقربان هشت
دینار و دو دانگ و از اجارات هجده دینار و یک
دانگ و نیم رسوم داشته وزیر قورچی و غلام
و تفنگچی برین موجب مواجب داشته اند و از انعام

وزیر قورچی
یکصد تومان

وزیر غلام
یکصد تومان

وزیر تفنکچی پنجاه تومان — وزیر توپچی پنجاه تومان

وتیول و قرار مواجب از قرار تومانی دویست دینار
واز تنخواه یکساله وهمه ساله چهل و پنج دینار
رسوم در وجه هر یک مقرر بوده مستوفی
قورچی وغلام وتفنکچی و توپچی بدینموجب مواجب

مستوفی قورچی پنجاه تومان — مستوفی غلام و تفنکچی سی تومان — مستوفی توپچی سی تومان

واز قرار مواجب وانعام و تیول از قرار تومانی
یکصد دینار واز تنخواه یکساله وهمه ساله
مبلغ بیست و پنج دینار رسوم داشته اند
ضابطه نویس مبلغ هشتاد و نه تومان وسه
هزار و پانصد و کسری مواجب براوردی و

مبلغ نوزده تومان رسوم محلی واز تیول امرا و مقربان
واقایان از تومانی مبلغ یازده دینار و یک دانک
و نیم واز انعام امرا و جمعی که ملازم نباشند و سیورغال
وغیره بیست دو دینار و نیم واز همه ساله امرا و
مقربان واقایان هفت دینار و نیم واز براتی
سه دینار و چهار دانک و نیم رسوم واز قرار
تومانی سی دینار رسم الحساب داشته صاحب
توجیه مبلغ بیست تومان مواجب و دو
تومان و دو هزار و پانصد دینار رسوم محلی
واز اجارات از قرار تومانی بیست و دو دینار
و نیم واز تنخواه مواجب امرا سه دینار و چهار

دونك ونيم عساكر ببيست دينار واز بتول امرا
ومقربان واقايان يازده دينار ويك دانك ونيم
واز بتول فورچيان وغلامان وقنقچيان وتوچيان
پنجاه دينار واز همه ساله امرا وغيره هفت دينار
ونيم واز همه ساله فورچيان وغيره پنجاه دينار
واز انعام امرا وجمعي كه ملازم بناشند ودويست دينار
ونيم واز انعام فورچيان وساير عساكر پنجاه دينار
واز سيورغال ومعافي وغيره ببيست ودو دينار
ونيم رسوم داشته اوارجه نويس عراق
مبلغ چهارده تومان مواجب وپنجاه وپنج تومان
دو هزار دينار رسوم محلي واز اجارات از قرار

تومان هشت دينار ويك دانك واز بتول
امرا ومقربان واقايان يازده دينار ويكدانك
ونيم واز همه ساله ايشان هفت دينار ونيم
واز انعام امرا وجمعي كه ملازم بناشند وسيورغال
وغيره ببيست ودو دينار ونيم واز تنخواه مقربان
واقايان سه دينار وچهار دانك ونيم رسوم
داشته واز قرار تومان پانزده دينار رسم
الحساب در وجه او مقرر بوده اوارجه
نويس در بايجان مبلغ پنجاه تومان مواجب
وساير رسومات او بدستور اوارجه نويس
عراق است ورسوم محلي مشار اليه بجهت

ضبط شده اوارجه نویس فارس مبلغ پانزده
تومان مواجب و یکصد و سه تومان هفت هزار
کسری از خارج المال محال فارس رسوم محلی و سایر
رسومات او بدستور اوارجه نویس عراقست
اوارجه نویس خراسان مبلغ پانزده تومان مواجب
و شصت و هشت تومان و شش هزار و کسری
رسوم محلی و سایر رسومات مشارالیه بدستور
اوارجه نویس عراقست و اوارجه نویس معدن
مبلغ بیست تومان مواجب و سایر رسومات
او بدستور عوارجه نویس عراقست
لشکر نویس مبلغ سه تومان و یکهزار دویست

پنجاه

و پنجاه دینار و کسری پتول و از اجازات از قرار
تومانی هیجده دینار و یکدانک و نیم و از نخواه
یکساله امرا و مقربان و اقایان هشت دینار
و دو دانک و از مواجب مقربان و لیاولان و
غیره سوی عمله بیوتات چهل دینار و از پتول
امرا و مقربان و اقایان بیست و پنجد ینار و
از همه سالهٔ امرا و مقربان و اقایان شانزده
دینار و چهار دانک و از انعام امرا و جمعی که
ملازم نباشند پنجاه دینار رسوم و مواجب
و حق السعی عمال پنجاه دینار و از سپور غال و
معافی و مسلمی و اقطاع پنجاه دینار رسوم داد

وازپیشکش کرده یک بازیافت میشود ازجمله ده
ده یک یک ده یک دوجه مشارالیه وسرا
خط نویس مقرر بوده سرخط نویس مبلغ دوازده
تومان مواجب وازقرار تومانی اجازات
پنج دینار وچهار دانک وازنخواه یکساله امرا
ومقربان سه دینار وچهار دانک وازنخواه
اقایان ومقربان ویساولان ببیست دینار
وازیوزباشی امرا وغیره هشت دینار وازهمه
ساله ایضا پنج دینار ودو دانک وازانعام
امرا وجمعی که ملازم نباشند وسیورغال و
معافی ومواجب وحق السعی عمال شانزده

دینار در سوم داشته ودر سوم پیشکش بشرح اسم
لشکر نویس است کشیک نویسان دو نفر بوده اند
ومبلغ سی وهفت تومان مواجب داشته اند
نویسنده بقایا مبلغ بیست تومان مواجب
داشته پیشکش نویس مبلغ پانزده تومان مواجب
وازجمله ده یک که ازپیشکش گرفته میشود
یکدم یک رسوم دارد دفتردار مبلغ نه تومان
مواجب وبیست وبکتومان وشش هزار وسیصد
دینار در سوم محلی واجازات ازقرار تومانی
از قرار دو دینار وچهار دانک وازنیم نخواه
امرا یکدینار ویکدانک ونیم وازیوزباشی امرا

سه دینار و چهار دانک و نیم و از همه ساله
دو دینار و نیم و از انعام امرا و جمعی که ملازم شاهند
و سپور غال و غیره هفت دینار و نیم رسوم
داشته نویسنده نظارت نوزده تومان مواجب
و اجارات از قرار تومانی یک دینار و نیم رسوم
داشته مشرف خزانه عامره از ده یک انعام
و خلعت و ده نیم پیشکش از یکتومان که جمع شود
مبلغ سه هزار دینار و از ده نیم رسوم ابتیاع
یکتومان که جمع شود یکصد و سی و سه دینار
و دو دانک و از مواجب و مرسوم که نقد داده
شود از یکتومان و شصت دینار و از اجناس

برانی که بخواه عسا کر شود ده نیم باز یافت و از جمله
یکتومان که جمع شود سه هزار دینار و از اجناس
انفاد و وزرا و عمال و کرکر افغان صد یک
فیث و از اجناس شعربا فخانه صد نیم رسوم دارد
مشرف فحاچخانه امرانی از ده یک خلعت از یکتومان
که جمع شود یکهزار و دو بیست دینار و از انفاد
وزرا و عمال صد و یک و از ده نیم ابتیاع یک
تومان جمع شود یکصد و سی و سه دینار و دو
دانک رسوم در وجه او مقرر است مشرف
ابدارخانه از انفاد صد و یک و از ده نیم ابتیاع
یکتومان که جمع شود از انجمله یکصد و سی و سه

دینار و دو دانک دزوجه او مقرر است
مشرف کتابخانه بشرح مشرف ابدارخانه رسوم
داشته مشرف فیلخانه خاصه از انفاذ
وزراء و عمال صد و یک و ازده نیم ابتیاع یکصد
و سی سه دینار و دو دونک و ازده نیم پیشکش
و خلعت و اجناس برانی یکهزار و هفصد و شصت
و شش دینار و چهار دانک رسوم در وجه او
مقرر بوده مشرف حویج خانه و مطبخ و مرغخانه
و اباغخانه را بکشخص بوده مبلغ سی تومان موا
و انچه بانعام دهند صد و انچه بمواجب
دهند صد و یک و ازده نیم ابتیاع دو دانک

متعلق بمشرف مذکور است و هر روز بیک قا
طعام صباح و بیکقاب مساوشش عدد نان
دو خاصه و چهار عدد خرجی جره داشته
مشرف مطبخ از کوسفند که بانعام دهند از
جمله ده یک بیست دینار و ازده نیم ابتیاع
دو دانک و از خوراکی صباح و مساء نیز رسومی
داشته مشرف میوه خانه و فورخانه و غاناث
باشراف یک شخص مقرر بوده مبلغ بیست تومان
مواجب داشته و از پیشکش صد یک و از انعا
از صد دینار دو دینار و از تحویل اصناف که
براق سرانجام نمایند از جمله پنجدینار ده نیم

یکدینار و از آنچه بمواجب دهند از جمله ده
نیم ده یک و از ابتیاع دو دونک رسوم داشته
مشرف شرنجانه سی و پنجتومان مواجب داشته
و از انفاد صد یک و از ده نیم ابتیاع بعد از
وضع دو ده یک که بتعلق بناظر ارباب التجاویل
دارد دو دانک در وجه مشرف مقرر است
و از پیشکش و انعام نیز رسوم میگرفته مشرف
شعربا فخانه مبلغ پانزده تومان مواجب و از یکتومان
رسوم که جمع شود سی و سه دینار و دو دانک
رسوم داشته مشرف فوشخانه مبلغ شصت
تومان و چهار هزار و هفصد و کسری مواجب

و از جمله ده نیم طعمه کلاب و جوارح قدری
رسوم دارد مشرف توپخانه مبلغ بیست
تومان مواجب و از جمله ده یک رسوم باروط
سازی دویست و شصت و شش دینار و چهار
دانک رسوم داشته صاحبجمع خزانهٔ عامره موافق
آنچه در نسخه نوشته شده بدین موجب رسوم
در وجه مشارالیه مقرر بوده و آنچه مشرف

ما
از ده یک انعام و ده نیم پیشکش یکتومان رسوم که جمع شود
بدینموجب نقسیم میشود

صاحبجمع سه هزار دینار	مستوفی ارباب التجاویل یکهزار دینار	کلبداد دو هزار و چهارصد دینار
عربان سیصد دینار	مشرف سه هزار دینار	بیضه

باب
از ده نیم ابتیاع بشرح ایضاً

ناظر
یکهزار دینار

مشرف
دوهزار و سیصد و شصت
و شش دینار و چهار دانك

مستوفی
ارباب التحاویل یکهزار دینار

صاحبجمع
پنجهزار سیصد و شصت
و سه دینار و دو دانك

باب
از ده نیم جنسی که بمواجب دهند بشرح ایضا

صاحبجمع
سه هزار دینار

مستوفی
ارباب التحاویل یکهزار
دینار

مشرف
سه هزار دینار

کلیددار و غیره
کلیددار
دوهزار و چهار
صد دینار
غربان
شیصد دینار

بقلم داده بدین موجب رسوم بازیافت مینموده اند

باب
آنچه نقد بمواجب دهند از یکتومان دویست دینار رسوم بازیافت
و انجمله بیست دینار بجهة سرکار خاصه شریفه ضبط میشود و
و از تتمه یکصد و بیست دینار در وجه صاحبجمع مقرر است

باب
از اجناس انفاد کرکیراقان و وزرا و عمله بقرار صد و یك و
از انفاد شعربافخانه صد نیم مقرر بوده

صاحبجمع

صاحبجمع رکابخانه مبلغ چهارصد و هشتاد
و نه تومان و یکهزار و کسری مواجب و پنجاه
تومان انعام همه ساله و برینموجب رسوم داشته

دفعه
موافق دستور حسن بیك

باب
از پیشکش و غیره که تحویل باشند
صد یك

باب
از آنچه بانعام دهند از ده یك
صاحبجمع
سی دینار
محاسبی
پنجاه دینار

باب
از آنچه تحویل اصناف نمایند که براق سرانجام
کنند و از آنچه بمواجب هرکس دهند که از جمله
ده نیم چهار حصه رسد صاحبجمع است

دفعه
موافق زمان جنت مکان از خلعتی که بهرکس
دهند ده یك قیمت واقعی بازیافت و برینموجب
تقسیم میشود

دوشلك

از یکتومان — یکهزار دینار

عمله

قیجاجیخانه — پانصد و پنجاه دینار

تحویلدار — دویست و چهل دینار

مشرف — یکصد و بیست دینار

کلیدار — بیست دینار

مستوفی — ارباب التحاویل — چهل دینار

غربان — یکصد و بیست دینار

پیشخدمت — سی دینار

رکابداران

علی السویه — چهارصد و پنجاه دینار

بوقچه

باقی — یکصد دینار

کلیدار — سی و سه دینار — دو دانک

غربان — شصت و شش دینار — و چهار دانک

صاحبجمع قیجاجیخانه خاصه و خیاطخانه چهل تومان مواجب و برین موجب رسوم بازیافت میشود

باب

ده یک دوشلك خلعت و دو نیم مواجب و ده نیم پیشکش

ناظر

ناظر — بیوتات — یکصد دینار

مستوفی — ارباب التحاویل — نود دینار

صاحبجمع — سیصد و نود و نه دینار — دو دانک

مشرف — یکصد و نود و شش دینار — و چهار دانک

کلیدار — سی و سه دینار

پیشخدمت — بیست و پنج دینار

غربان — یکصد و شصت دو دینار و دو دانک

باب

از ده نیم ابتیاع — یکهزار دینار

ناظر — بیوتات — یکصد دینار

مستوفی — ارباب التحاویل — یکصد دینار

صاحبجمع — پانصد و سی و سه دینار — و دو دانک

مشرف — دویست و شصت و شش دینار — چهار دانک

باب

آنچه کرکراقان بکارخانه آورده قبض بازیافت نمایند

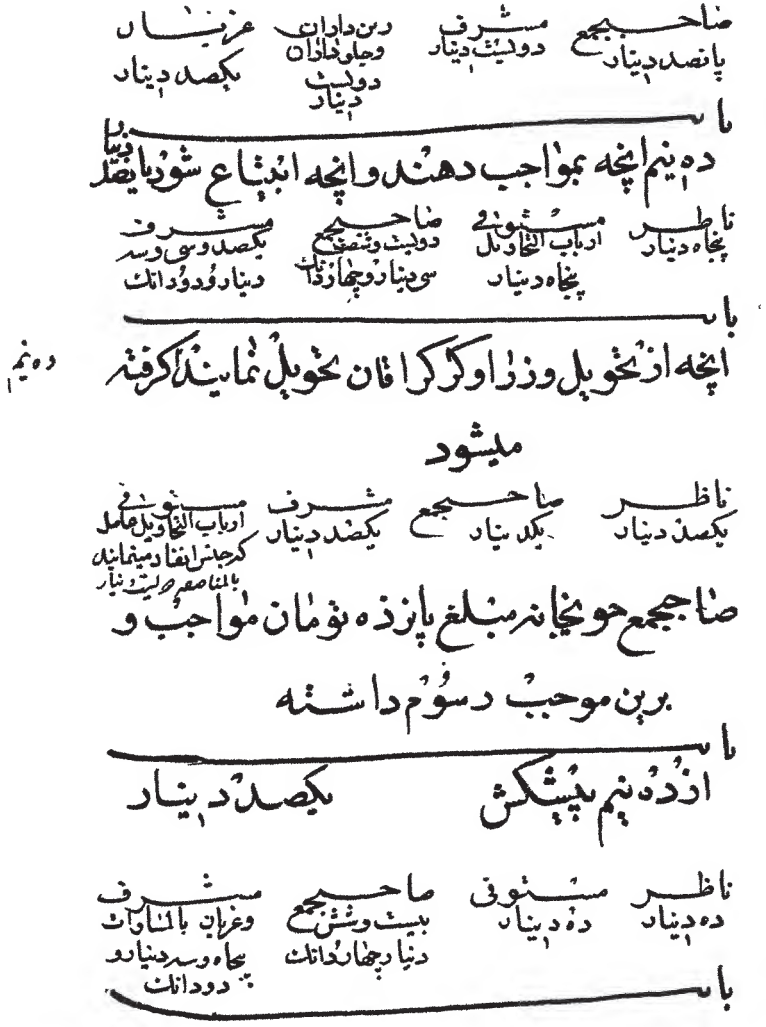
صاحبجمع — صد یک

مشرف — صد یک

صاحبجمع فراشخانه مبلغ هفتاد تومان و سه هزار و دویست چهل و یک دینار و نیم مواجب و بدینموجب رسوم در وجه او مقرر بوده

باب

ده نیم ابتیاع — یکهزار دینار



ناظر یکصد دینار — مستوفی ارباب التحاویل یکصد دینار — صاحب جمع پانصد و سی و سه دینار و دو دانگ — مشرف دویست و شصت و شش دینار و چهار دانگ

باب

ده نیم پیشکش یکهزار دینار

غربان دویست دینار — صاحب جمع پانصد و سی و سه دینار و دو دانگ — مشرف دویست و شصت و شش دینار و چهار دانگ

باب

ده نیم جنسی که بمواجب دهند و ده یک انعام یکهزار دینار

ناظر یکصد دینار — مستوفی ارباب التحاویل یکصد دینار — صاحب جمع پانصد و سی و سه دینار و دو دانگ — مشرف دویست و شصت و شش دینار و چهار دانگ

صاحب جمع زنیخانه مبلغ شصت تومان و پنجهزار و هشتصد و چهل و شش دینار مواجب و برین موجب رسوم در وجه او مقرر بوده

باب

ده یک انعام و ده نیم پیشکش یکهزار دینار

صاحب جمع پانصد دینار — مشرف دویست دینار — زین داران و جلوداران دویست دینار — غربان یکصد دینار

باب

ده نیم آنچه بمواجب دهند و آنچه ابتیاع شود پانصد دینار

ناظر پنجاه دینار — مستوفی ارباب التحاویل پنجاه دینار — صاحب جمع دویست و شصت و سی دینار و چهار دانگ — مشرف یکصد و سی و سه دینار و دو دانگ

باب

آنچه از تحویل وزرا و کرکراقان تحویل نمایند گرفته میشود

ده نیم

ناظر یکصد دینار — صاحب جمع یکدینار — مشرف یکصد دینار — مستوفی ارباب التحاویل عامل که جنس انفاد مینمایند بالمناصفه دویست دینار

صاحب جمع خویخانه مبلغ پانزده تومان مواجب و برین موجب رسوم داشته

باب

از ده نیم پیشکش یکصد دینار

ناظر ده دینار — مستوفی ده دینار — صاحب جمع بیست و شش دینار و چهار دانگ — مشرف و غربان بالمساوات پنجاه و سه دینار و دو دانگ

باب

از صد تومان انفاذ و زدا و عمال چهار تومان
فیما بین ناظر و مستوفی و صاحبجمع و مشرف بالمساوات
قسمت میشود

باب
ده نیم ابتیاع صد دینار

ناظر	مستوفی	صاحبجمع	مشرف
ده دینار	ده دینار	پنجاه و سه دانک و دو دانک	پنجاه و شش دینار و چهار دانک

صاحبجمع غالبا مبلغ هشت تومان و هفت هزار
چهار صد دینار مواجب و برین موجب رسوم دز
دروجه او مقرر بوده

باب
از جنسی که لیرکار خاصه شریفه او دند و انچه
عمال نقد انفاذ و کوسفند ابتیاع نمایند صد
و بازیافت و فیما بین صاحبجمع و مشرف بالمساوات

قسمت میشود

باب
ازده یک انعام و ده نیم پیشکش

ناظر	مستوفی	صاحبجمع
هشتصد دینار	هفتصد دینار	سه هزار و هشتصد و پنجاه دینار

مشرف	عریان	کلیدار
یکهزار و هشتصد دینار	یکهزار و هشتصد دینار	و دو شلکی یکهزار و صد دینار

باب
ده نیم انچه مواجب دهند یکتومان

ناظر	مستوفی	صاحبجمع
یکهزار دینار	هشتصد دینار	سه هزار و هفتصد و سی و سه دینار و دو دانک

مشرف	کلیدار	پیشخدمت
یکهزار و هفتصد و شصت و سی دینار و چهار دانک	سیصد و سی دینار	دو لیت و پنجاه دینار

عریان
یکهزار و سیصد و پنجاه دینار

صاحب جمع شونجانه مبلغ سی و چهار تومان و

صاحبجمع میوه خانه مبلغ بیست تومان مواجب و برین موجب رسوم در وجه او مقرر است

وشش هزار و هفصد دینار مواجب و برین موجب
دسوم در وجه او مقرر بوده،

با
از انچه عمال وغیره در جزو ابتیاع نموده انفاد

نمایند صد دو باز یافت وفیما بین صاحجمع و
مشرف بالمساوات قسمت میشود

ما
ازده نیم انچه ابتیاع نمایند

ناظر	مستوفی	صاحجمع	مشرف
پنجد دینار	پنجد دینار	پنجاه وشش دینار و دو دانک	سیصد دینار و دو دانک

ما
ازده یک انعام یکصد دینار

ناظر	مستوفی.	صاحجمع
ده دینار	ده دینار	چهل دینار

مشرف سی دینار — عزبان پنجد دینار — کلیدار پنجد دینار

صاحجمع شربتخانه غانات مبلغ ده تومان موجب
وازده نیم ابتیاع وصد یک انفاد بتفصیل
سرکار خاصه رسوم داشته صاحجمع
ایاغخانه مبلغ چهارده تومان و نه هزار و هشتصد
و نود و شش دینار مواجب و از پوست و کله
وجکر گوسفند بیست دینار و از پوست و
کله وجکر بز ده دینار رسوم داشته صاحجمع
شیره خانه مبلغ یکصد تومان مواجب و
دوازده تومان انعام همه ساله و برین موجب
رسوم در وجه او مقرر بوده

اخر

باب

از ده یك انعام و ده نیم پیشکش یکصد دینار

ناظر ده دینار — مستوفی ده دینار — صاحبجمع سی و پنج دینار

مشرف سی و پنج دینار — و عمله ده دینار

باب

از ده نیم ابتیاع پنجاه دینار

ناظر ده دینار — صاحبجمع چهل دینار

صاحبجمع شترخان مبلغ بیست تومان مواجب داشته صاحبجمع هیمه خانه مبلغ هشت تومان مواجب و بدستور حویجخانه رسوم داشته صاحبجمع سقاخانه مبلغ نوزده تومان و هفتصد و چهل دینار مواجب و از ده نیم ابتیاع چهار دانك و از ده یك انعام از یکصد دینار هشتاد دینار

متعلق

متعلق باو بوده صاحبجمع مشعلخانه مبلغ دوازده تومان مواجب و از یکتومان قیمت جنس ابتیاع دویست و شصت و شش دینار و چهار دانك از او بوده صاحبجمع زرکرخانه مبلغ پنجتومان و ششهزار و کسری مواجب و دیدنی جواهر اصفهان با او بوده و برین موجب رسوم فیما بین ناظر و غیره قسمت میشده

ناظر یکهزار دینار — ارباب التحاویل یکهزار دینار — مستوفی — صاحبجمع پنجهزار و سیصد سه دینار و دو دانك — مشرف دوهزار و ششصد شصت و شش دینار و چهار دانك

صاحبجمع مسکرخانه مبلغ سی تومان مواجب داشته صاحبجمع ابدارخانه مبلغ هشتاد و هفت تومان و ششهزار و کسری مواجب از ده نیم ابتیاع دویست

وشصت وشش دینار وچهار دانك واز انفاد
صد یك رسوم داشته صاحبجمع کتابخانه پنجاه
تومان مواجب واز باسمه چی و زرکوب وکاغذ
کر ومغراض کر ومذهب بلا تشخیص مبلغ رسوم
داشته صاحبجمع مطبخ نه تومان مواجب داشته
ورسوم مشخص نیست صاحبجمع اصطبل مبلغ
دوازده تومان مواجب واز پیشکش وانعام
بشرحی که در تحت اسم امیراخور باشی نوشته شد
رسوم داشته صاحبجمع قهوه خانه مبلغ پنجاه
تومان مواجب ودو هزار من کندم بوزن شاه
انعام داشته ورسوم مشخص نشده صاحبجمع

نقاشخانه

نقاشخانه مبلغ سی تومان انعام همه ساله وازده
نیم مصالح نقاشی از پانزده دینار ودویست و
شش دینار وچهار دانك رسوم داشته
صاحبجمع عطارخانه مبلغ ده تومان مواجب واز
ابتیاع وانفاد بدستور سایر بیوتات رسوم
داشته صراف باشی خزانه عامره مبلغ ده تومان
مواجب واز زری که بخزانه اورند تومانی
بیست دینار بازیافت مینماید واکر زر قلب
براید یا سبك باشد از عهده غرامت ان
بیرون اید مقاله دویم در ذکر مواجب وتیول
امراء سرحد ونفری ملازمان هریك از بیکلربیکیا

وحکام وسلاطین ومجمل مداخل ومخارج ایران
پس تفصیل مداخل امراء سرحد ونفری ملازمان
مقرره هر ولایت را بتفصیل جزو بدین موجب
بمعرض عرض میرساند

ادربایجان

بیکلربیکی

تبریز وتوابین سی وچهار هزار ودویست وسی
چهار تومان وچهار هزار ونهصد وشش دینار
ونیم

مداخل
دو هزار سیصد وسی وهفت
تومان وهشت هزار وسیصد
هفده دینار

ملازمان
نهصد نفر

حاکم
استارا

مداخل
پنجهزار وپنجاه ودو تومان و
پنجهزار وشیصد وپنجاه وهفت
دینار

ملازمان
شیصد نفر

حاکم
مراغه وایل مقدم

مداخل
سه هزار وهفتصد وبیست
ونه تومان وهفت هزار چهارصد
پنجاه دینار

ملازمان
دو هزار هفتصد نفر

حاکم
الکاء ایل افشار

مداخل
هفت هزار وششصد ونود تومان
وسه هزار وهفتصد وچهل وهفت
دینار

ملازمان
دو هزار ودویست نفر

حاکم
قراچه داغ

مداخل
هشتصد وبیست وهشت تومان
وچهار هزار ودویست دینار

ملازمان
دویست نفر

حاکم

حورس

مداخل
یکهزار و صد و شصت و
هشت تومان و نه هزار و ششصد
و چهل دینار

ملازمان
هفتصد نفر

حاکم

کاورد

مداخل
دویست و پنجاه و هفت تومان
و هفت هزار پنجاه دینار

ملازمان
صد نفر

حاکم

قپانات

مداخل
هشتصد و بیست و دو تومان
و پنجهزار و پانصد و شصت
دینار

ملازمان
صد و هشتاد و هشت نفر

حاکم

ورکهان

مداخل
صد و نود و پنج تومان و نه هزار و
پانصد دینار

ملازمان
هشتاد و پنج نفر

حاکم

کرمرود

مداخل
صد و سی و شش تومان و هشتصد
و نود دینار

ملازمان
بیست و پنج نفر

حاکم

ایل آذربا

مداخل
سیصد و ده تومان و دو هزار و
پانصد و پنجاه دینار

ملازمان
صد و پنجاه نفر

حاکم

هشترود و طاب طاب

مداخل
صد و نود و ده تومان و شش هزار و
و پانصد و سی و دو دینار

ملازمان
صد و پانزده نفر

حاکم

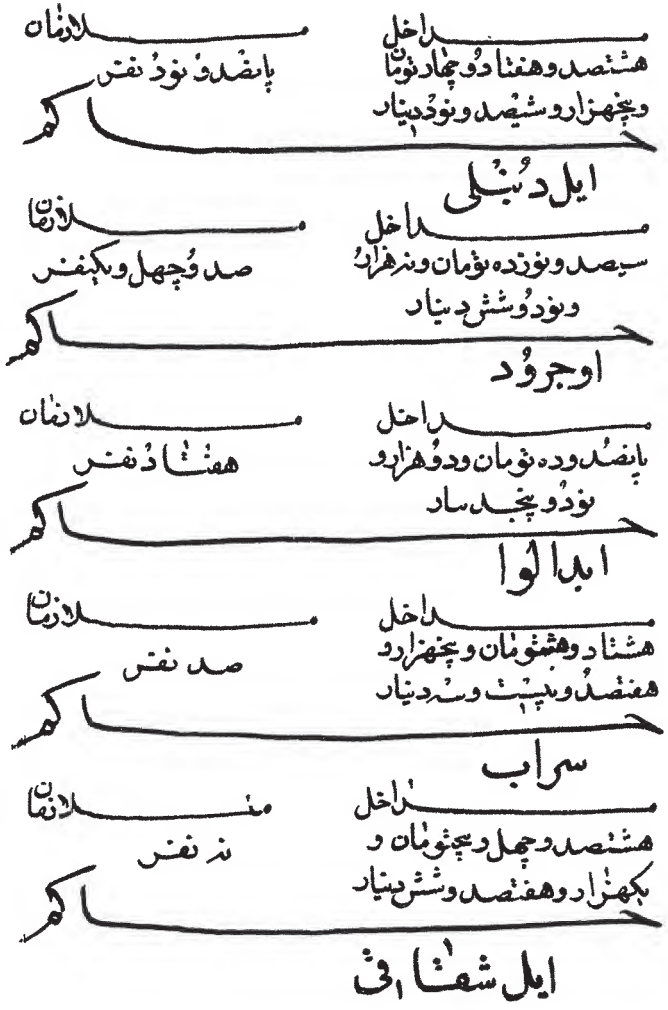
مدک

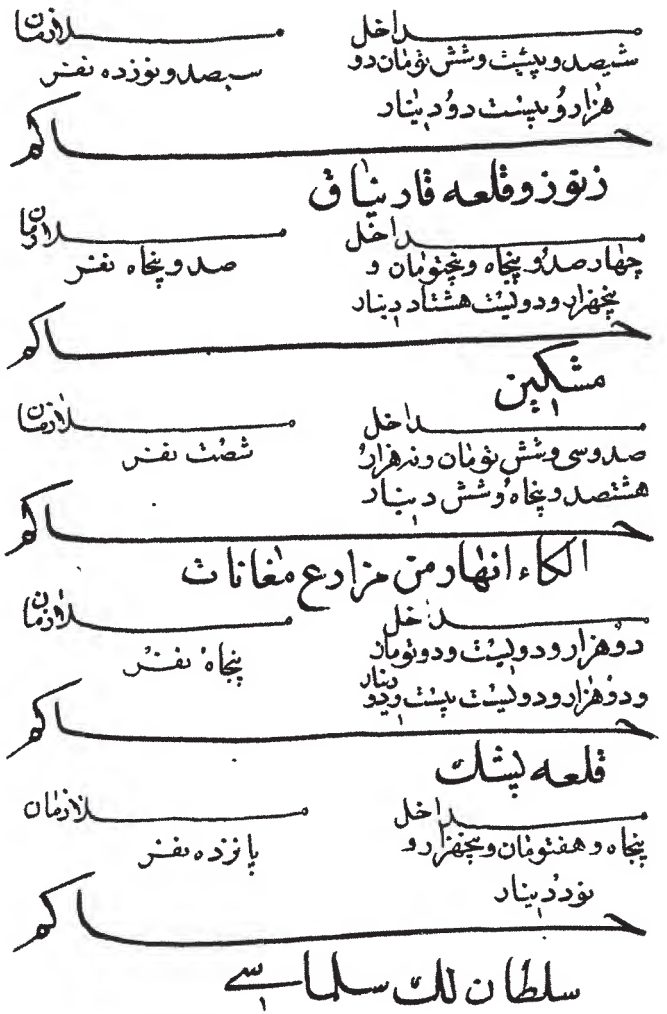
مداخل
هفتصد و بیست و نه تومان و
سه هزار و هفتصد و نه دینار

ملازمان
یکهزار و صد و هفتاد و
نه نفر

حاکم

لاهیجان


مداخل هشتصد وهفتاد و چهار تومان
وپنجهزار و شیصد و نود دینار
ملاذمان پانصد و نود نفر
حاکم
ایل دُنبلی
مداخل سیصد و نوزده تومان و نه هزار و
نود و شش دینار
ملاذمان صد و چهل و یکنفر
حاکم
اوجرود
مداخل پانصد و ده تومان و دو هزار و
نود و پنجدینار
ملاذمان هفتاد نفر
حاکم
ابدالوا
مداخل هشتاد و هشت تومان و پنجهزار و
هفتصد و بیست و سه دینار
ملاذمان صد نفر
حاکم
سراب
مداخل هشتصد و چهل و پنج تومان و
یکهزار و هفتصد و شش دینار
ملاذمان نه نفر
حاکم
ایل شقاقی


مداخل شیصد و بیست و شش تومان دو
هزار و بیست دو دینار
ملاذمان سیصد و نوزده نفر
حاکم
زنوز و قلعه قاضیاق
مداخل چهارصد و پنجاه و پنج تومان و
پنجهزار و دویست هشتاد دینار
ملاذمان صد و پنجاه نفر
حاکم
مشکین
مداخل صد و سی و شش تومان و نه هزار و
هشتصد و پنجاه و شش دینار
ملاذمان شصت نفر
حاکم
الکاء انهار من مزارع مغانات
مداخل دو هزار و دویست و دو تومان
و دو هزار و دویست بیست و دو دینار
ملاذمان پنجاه نفر
حاکم
قلعه بشك
مداخل پنجاه و هفت تومان و پنجهزار و
نود دینار
ملاذمان پانزده نفر
حاکم
سلطان لك سلماسی

مداخل
سیصد و چهل و نه تومان و
سه هزار و هفتصد و چهل و هشت دینار

ملازمان
صد نفر

حاکم

قراغاج طالش

مداخل
دویست و شانزده تومان هشت
هزار و سیصد و پنجاه و دو دینار

ملازمان
چهل نفر

حاکم

شاهی سون اینالوا

مداخل
یکهزار و صد و سی تومان و هفتصد
و هشتاد دینار

ملازمان
هشتاد نفر

حاکم

سلطانیه و زنجان

مداخل
یکهزار و شش صد و شصت تومان دو هزار
و پنجاه و نه دینار

ملازمان
هشتصد و هفتاد و سه
نفر

بیکلربیکی

چخور سعد و توابین بیست و پنجهزار و هفتصد
و ده تومان ششهزار و سیصد و بیست و شش
دینار

بیکلربیکی

مداخل
بیست هزار و پانصد و سی و
نه تومان

ملازم
دو هزار و هشتصد و شصت
نفر

حاکم

تومان نخجوان

مداخل
سه هزار و چهارصد و شصت و
یکتومان و چهار هزار و سیصد و چهل
شش دینار

ملازمان
هفتصد و نود و نه نفر

حاکم

ماکو

مداخل
پانصد و هشتاد تومان و
دو هزار و هشتصد و هشتاد و هشت دینار

ملازمان
صد و پنجاه نفر

حاکم

زار و زیپل

مداخل
چهارصد و سی و هشت تومان
چهار هزار و ششصد و هفتاد
پنج دینار

ملازمان
دویست نفر

حاکم

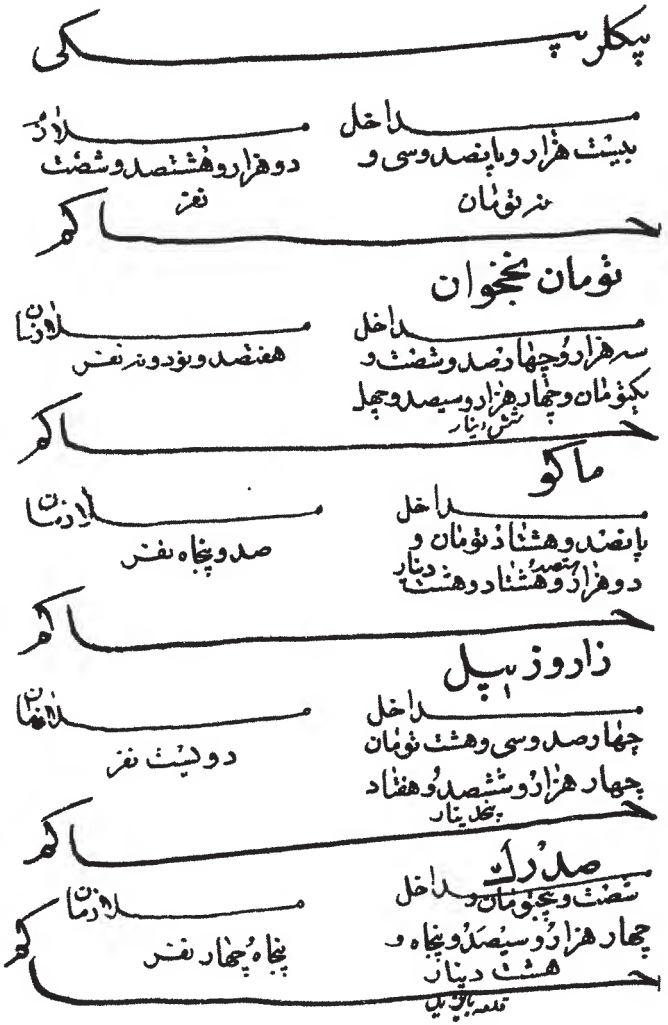
صدرک

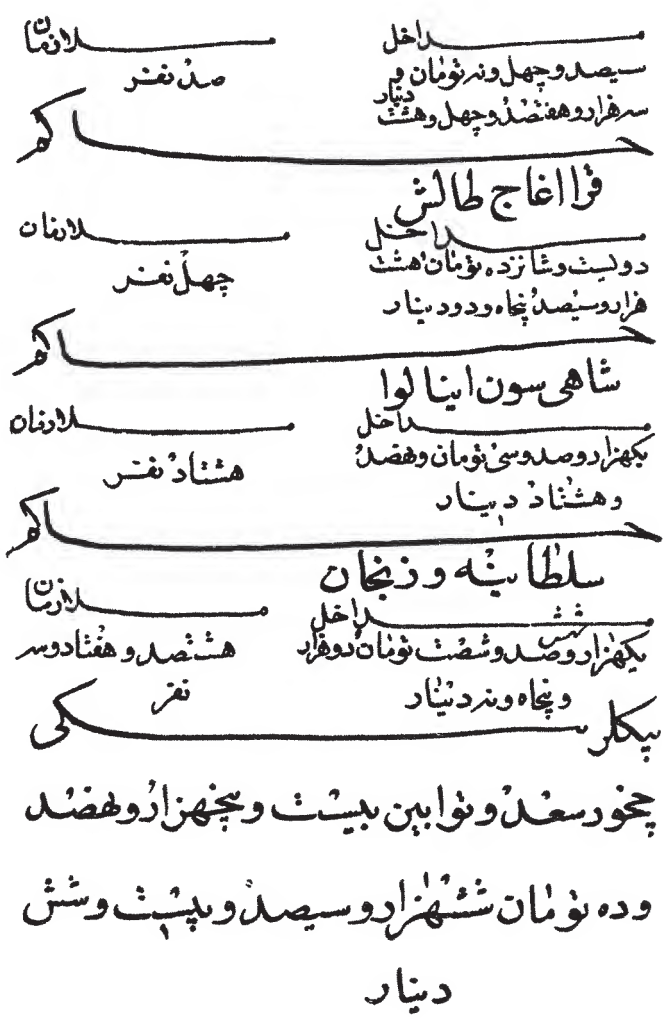
مداخل
شصت و پنج تومان و
چهار هزار و سیصد و پنجاه و
هشت دینار

ملازمان
پنجاه و چهار نفر

حاکم

قلعه بایزید





مداخل
شیصد و شش تومان و سه هزار و
چهارصد و هشتاد و هفت دینار

ملازمان
صد نفر

حاکم
شادیلو

مداخل
بیست تومان

ملازمان
سی نفر

حاکم
دنبلی اکراد

مداخل
ده تومان

ملازمان
چهل نفر

حاکم
معاربرد

مداخل
صد و پانزده تومان و شش هزار و
پانصد و هفتاد و دو دینار

ملازمان
پنجاه و چهار نفر

بیگلربیگی
قراباغ و توابین بیست و چهار هزار هفتصد و
بیست و شش تومان و نهصد و هفتاد و
هشت دینار

بیگلربیگی

مداخل
ارباب قراباغ که از کاخت معلوم
بیست و هشت هزار ششصد و
چهارده تومان و نه هزار و چهارصد و
سی و پنج دینار

ملازمان
یکهزار و چهارصد و سی
نفر

حاکم
زکم

مداخل
پنجهزار و نهصد و نود و هشت تومان
پنجهزار و نهصد و هشتاد دینار

ملازمان
یکهزار و دویست نفر

حاکم
بردع

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سه هزار و هفتصد و نود و دو
تومان و دو هزار و هفتصد و سی
و پنج دینار

ملازمان
پانصد و پانزده نفر

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احاباد

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هفتصد نفر

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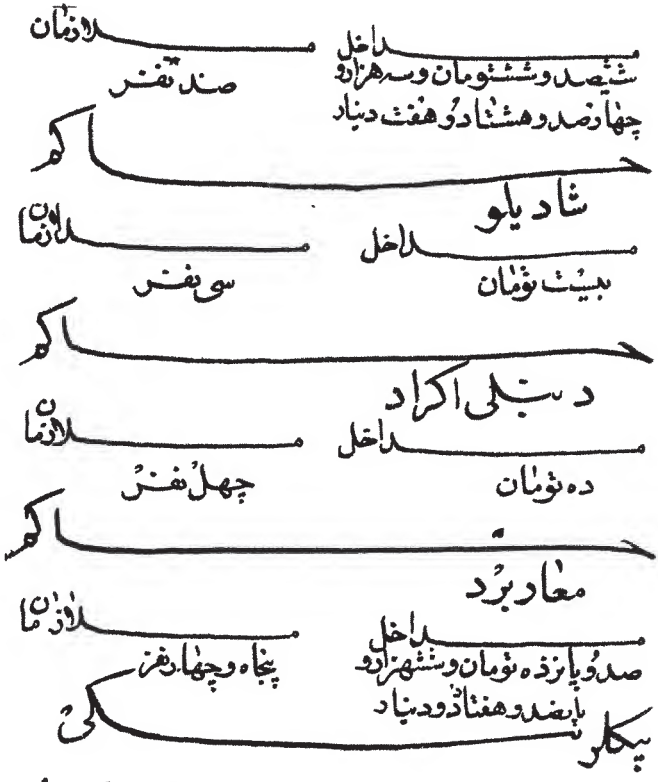
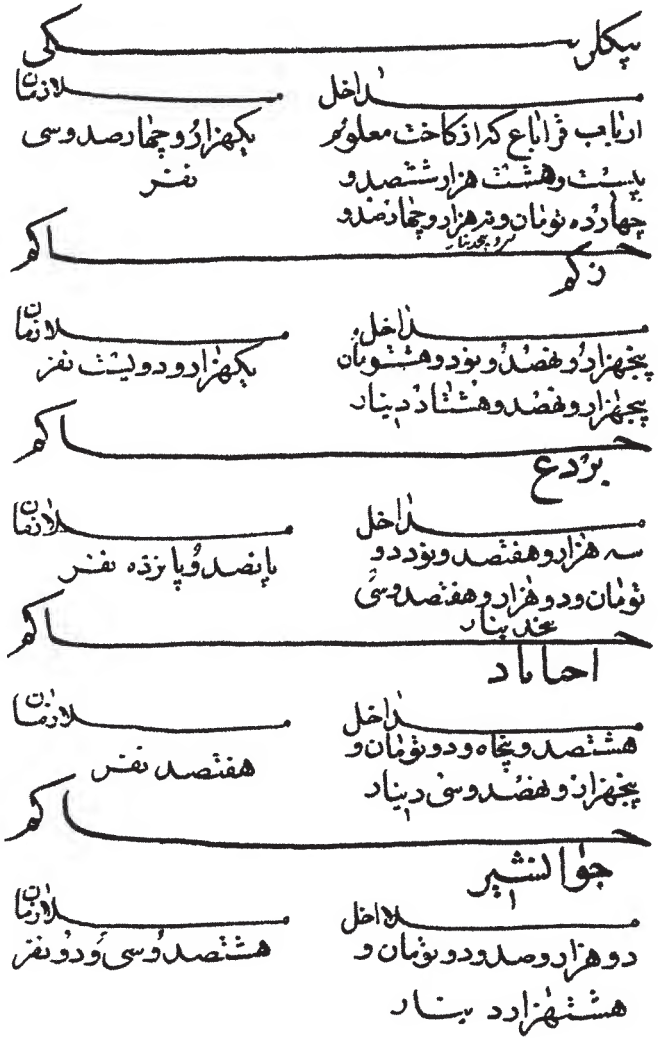
جوانشیر

مداخل
دو هزار و صد و دو تومان و
هشت هزار دینار

ملازمان
هشتصد و سی و دو نفر





حاکم

برکشاط

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سیصد و چهل و یک تومان و دو
هزار و هفتصد و پنجاه دینار

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الکای ارسبار و ایل بایزیدلو

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و چهل و پنج دینار

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شیروان و توابین

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سه تومان و نه هزار و سی و سه
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و چهل و دو تومان
سه هزار و هشتصد و پنج دینار

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هفت صد
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باب الابواب دربند

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هرات و توابین

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سه هزار و دویست و شصت
و هفت تومان و پنجهزار و پانصد و
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یکهزار و چهارصد و سی و چهار تومان و دو هزار و ششصد و بیست و چهار دینار	دویست و هفتاد و یک نفر

حاکم

جام

مداخل	ملازمان
یکهزار و ششصد و هشتاد و نه تومان و دویست و بیست و یک دینار	پانصد نفر

حاکم

بالامرغاب

مداخل	ملازمان
هشتصد و هشتاد و سه تومان و سه هزار و چهارصد و شصت و شش دینار	یکصد نفر

حاکم

پنجده

مداخل	ملازمان
هفتصد و پنجاه و هشت تومان و چهارهزار و ششصد و هفتاد و دینار	یکصد و پنجاه نفر

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بادغیس

مداخل	ملازمان
یکصد و نه تومان و شش هزار و صد و پنجاه و یک دینار	سی نفر

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کوج

مداخل	ملازمان
چهارصد و چهل و دو تومان و سه هزار و هفتصد و سی و هفت دینار	یکصد و نود و نه نفر

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دورمی

مداخل	ملازمان
چهارصد و پنجاه تومان و هفتهزار و نود و دو دینار	پانصد نفر

حاکم

غور

مداخل	ملازمان
یکصد و سه تومان یکهزار و ششصد دینار	سی نفر

حاکم

تون

مداخل: یکهزار و دویست و نود تومان و سه هزار و یکصد دینار

ملازمان: سیصد نفر

بیکلربیکی

مشهد مقدس و توابین

بیکلربیکی

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ملازمان: بیست و یک نفر

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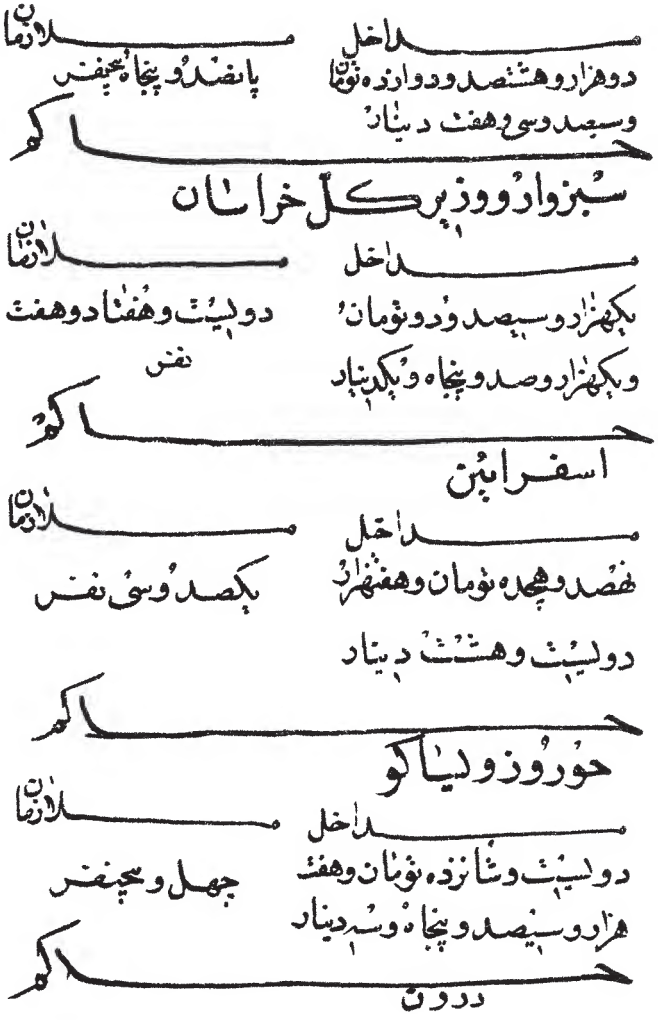
نسا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دوهزار و هشتصد و دوازده تومان
و سیصد و سی و هفت دینار
ملازمان
پانصد و پنجاه و پنج نفر
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و یکهزار و صد و پنجاه و یک دینار
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دویست و هفتاد و هفت
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اسفراین
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تومان سهزار و سیصد و بیست
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ملازمان
یکهزار و سیصد و بیست
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بیکلربیکی
۱۴۰۰

مداخل — ملازمان

یکهزار و صد و بیست و سه نفر

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زمین داور و غوریان

مداخل — ملازمان

نقد — اشجار

دو هزار و پانزده تومان ششصد و ششد دینار

هشتهزار و ششصد و سی و یک اصله بلا مبلغ

چهارصد و شصت و سه نفر

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کوشک

مداخل — ملازمان

هزار و هشتصد و چهل و هفت تومان هشتهزار و نهصد و بیست دینار

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ایل کری و لوکه و بادغیس و تیموری و علی خواخه میر عارف بلوچ مواجب سی تومان

بیگلربیگی

مرو و غیره

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مرو

مداخل — ملازمان

هفتهزار و صد و نود و سه تومان ششهزار و صد و چهل دینار

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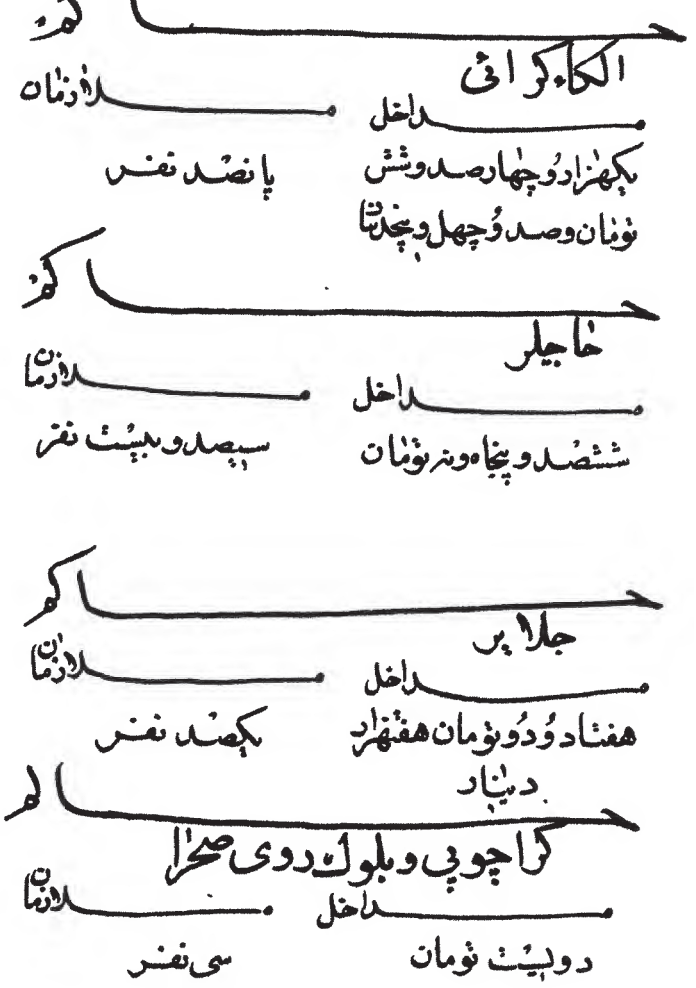
استراباد و توابین

بیگلربیگی

مداخل — ملازمان

ده هزار و پانصد و پنجاه و سه تومان و چهار هزار و هشتصد و شصت دینار

هزار و پانصد و سه نفر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الکاکرائی
مداخل
ملازمان
یکهزار و چهارصد و شش تومان و صد و چهل و پنج دینار
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ششصد و پنجاه و نه تومان
سیصد و بیست نفر
حاکم
جلایر
مداخل
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هفتاد و دو تومان هفتهزار دینار
یکصد نفر
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گراچوپی و بلوک دوی صحرا
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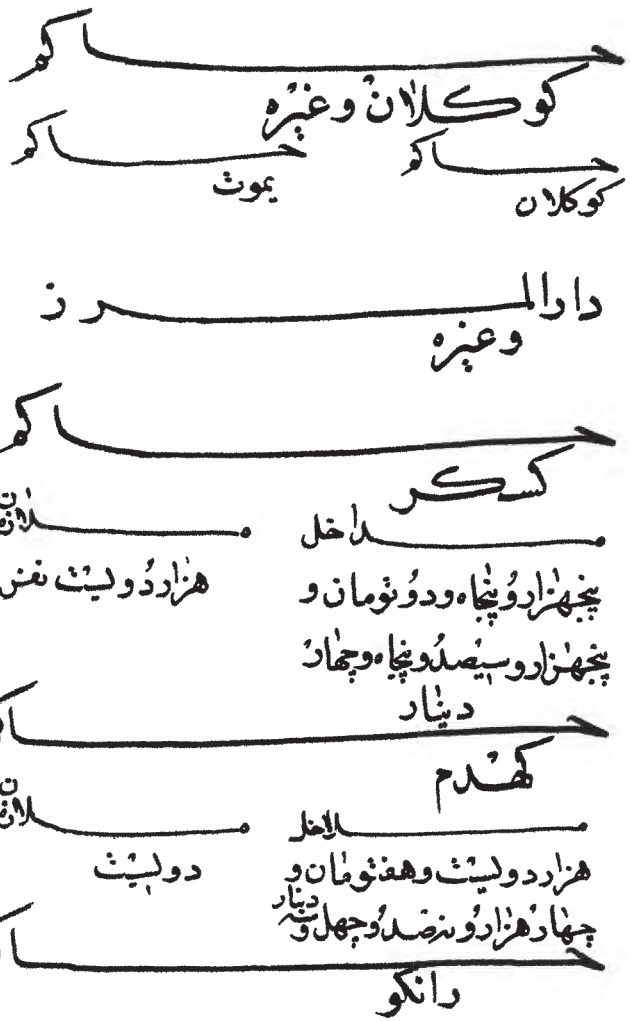
دویست تومان
سی نفر


حاکم
کوکلان و غیره
حاکم
حاکم
کوکلان
یموت
دارالمرز
وغیره
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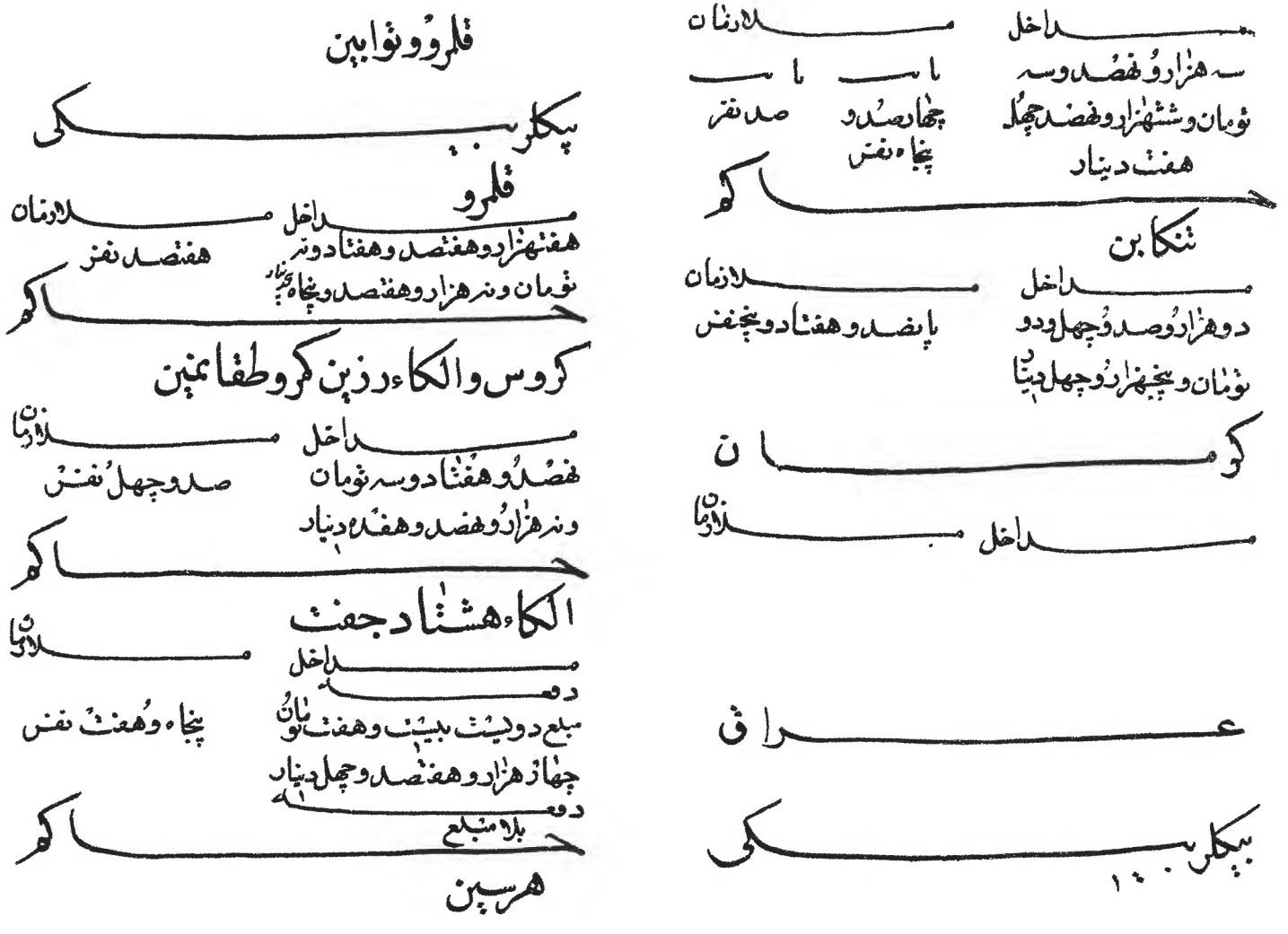
دویست
حاکم
رانکو


مداخل
سه هزار و هفصد و سه تومان و شش هزار و هفصد چهل هفت دینار
ملازمان
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چهارصد و پنجاه نفر
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قلرو
مداخل
ملازمان
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سه هزار و نهصد و کسری

سایر

امرا که تابین نیستند

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پانصد و پنجاه دینار

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یکهزار و صد تومان — صد نفر

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مداخل — ملازمان

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کوکیلوی و توابین

بیگلربیگی

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دوازده هزار تومان — دو هزار نفر

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مداخل — ملازمان

ششهزار و هفتصد و چهل و هفت تومان هفتهزار پانصد و شصت دو دینار و چهار دانگ نیم — پانصد نفر

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سه هزار و هشتصد و سی و نه تومان

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زیدابات

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هزار و هشتصد و سی و سه تومان و پنجهزار و سیصد و سیزده دینار

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سروستان

مداخل
هزار و سیصد و چهل و سه تومان پنجهزار و دو دینار

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دورق

مداخل
پنجهزار و هشتصد و هفتاد و هفت تومان هفتهزار و چهارصد پنجاه دینار

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چهارصد و هفتاد و هشت نفر

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بندر مبارکه عباسی وغیره

حاکم

بندر

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چهارهزار و هشتصد و شصت تومان

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هزار هفتاد و هشت نفر

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دویست نفر

والی عربستان

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سیبرم

مداخل
هزار و چهل و پنج تومان و شش هزار صد و هشت دینار و نیم

ملازمان
صد و پنجاه نفر

در ذکر خلاصه مداخل و

مخارج ولایات ایران

مد اخل

نقد

هفتصد و هشتاد و پنجهزار و ششصد و بیست و سه تومان

هشتهزار و هشتصد و نه دینار باید بدهند

جنس

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هشت من نیم و هشتاد مثقال

ماست

ماذ

چهار دست

ماست

مردیائی

پانصد نفر

سرکار

دیوانی

نقد

وفهشت جنس

ششصد و هشتهزار و شش

صد و پنجاه و دو تومان و سه

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هشت من نیم و هشتاد

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سرکار

معادن

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یکهزار و چهار

صد و بیست و

سه تومان و دو نیم

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عن مومیائی

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و هفتاد

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وجوه عشور بنادر رسد
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